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JESUS AND HIS COMMUNITY
(A Study of the Relationship between Jesus and Church Origins)

by
John E. Shelton

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A SUMMARY

There were three considerations which led to the investigation of Jesus' ministry to see if and where he fostered or attempted to establish a new community.

The first reason is a "practical" one resulting from a pastoral ministry in an institutional Church. There are often pressures in such a ministry to support the "institutional forms" of the denomination, almost to the exclusion of all other duties. It has become the conviction of the writer that "Church" should not be basically defined by its institutional forms, that is, its polity, its programs, or its dogmatic formulations. It would seem more appropriate to define Church in terms of faith in the Lordship of Christ and service to him and to the world. If the Church was being established in the ministry of Jesus, it should be apparent whether or not institutional forms are the basic element in the founding of the Church.

The second reason is a "historical" one, and it was brought to mind by Bultmann's conclusion that the Church had to overcome the scandal of the Cross and did so with the Easter faith. It is not possible to say that the Church was created by the crucifixion. Then does the resurrection explain the rise of the Christian community? To the writer, it never seemed to be a satisfactory method of explaining the existence of the Church. For, beyond question, the resurrection of Jesus was purely a subjective event; it was not, is not, and cannot be an objective historical fact. It was received only by believers who already had a group consciousness. Therefore, in some sense of the word, the Church must precede the resurrection.

The third reason is a "logical" one. It never seemed likely to the writer that the Jesus of the synoptic Gospels was for the most part the creation of a creative community. It seemed more likely that Jesus'

words and activity were appropriated by a group of adherents which modified these words and events according to later developments. That is to say it appears more logical that Jesus created the substance of the synoptic record and the community which preserved it, than to say that a community created the record and hence "created" Jesus as one with messianic significance.

These were the reasons or motivating points of view which stood behind the research into the question of Jesus and Church origins. Their validity hinges upon whether or not Jesus presented his own message and person in such a way as to make possible a new community, the people of God, the Church. The conclusion in the paper is that he did. The conclusion is based on certain constructive evidence which is confirmed by other results.

After outlining the method of approach and setting the problem, both by a consideration of ideas related to the topic and an investigation of Matthew 16: 17-19, the first "constructive" chapter was centered on the meaning of Son of Man. While the approach of Kattenbusch, Manson, Otto, and Schmidt was not followed exactly, the conclusion was reached that the Son of Man sayings reveal a solidarity of suffering and salvation in Jesus' ministry. The conclusion was based upon the authoritative activity of Jesus which was opposed by some and accepted by others. The result of the allegiance was a solidarity with Jesus in rejection and in salvation.

The second "constructive" chapter dealt with the very broad range of discipleship sayings and with events relating particularly to the disciples. It was concluded that Jesus displayed the authoritative and soteriological claims sufficient for the establishment of a new people. This was confirmed by the fact that Jesus' activity indicated a separation from the Judaism of his day. The appointment of the Twelve was taken as a proof of the possibility that Jesus was establishing a new people. These results were supported by an investigation of the parables and the reaction to Jesus' ministry.

The third "Constructive" chapter revealed that the presence of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus made the establishment of the eschatological people of God a necessary part of Jesus' ministry. It confirmed his saving activity and authority. The deciding factor in the paper was the present operation of the Kingdom of God. The idea that the Kingdom of God excluded the Church was completely reversed.

The thought that Jesus was establishing the new people of God was again confirmed by showing that the conclusion reached in the paper was the explanation for the historical fact of the existence of the community which trusted in Jesus as its deliverer and which was transformed by Easter and Pentecost.

Therefore, it is to be concluded that Jesus, acting with the saving authority of the Kingdom, was making possible the new people of God for those who followed and confessed him, accepting the significance of his ministry.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE APPROACH TO THE SYNOPTIC MATERIAL

In modern approaches to New Testament study many theories have been suggested concerning the historicity of the Gospels. The historically acceptable has given way to the historically unfit. The kind teacher and leader has evaporated, while the enigmatic prophet of the Kingdom has been seen dimly in the gathering mist. The general optimism of the "Liberal" has been checked through the many doubts raised by more recent New Testament scholarship. The questioning of the historicity of the Gospels has been carried out on many avenues of approach. But out of the variety of theories which have run hard against traditional interpretation of the Gospels, there is one most serious and damaging to those who believe Jesus of Nazareth to be the self-proclaimed Messiah. This theory works on the basis that Jesus Christ is the created, not the creator. Thus much that has abiding significance: his self-proclamation, the meaning of his death, his intention for the community of his followers, is claimed to be the invention of the Church. Carried to its crudest conclusions such a conception could make Christianity a lie and a hoax. Making a more refined observation, it might be said that the followers of Jesus, acting under the influence of the new wine of their gospel, set out to make a carpenter the Christ, even though he never gave such a witness to himself. Thus the creative community constructed its own communal situation, its object of worship, and its historical records(which perhaps must be carefully scrutinized as theological treatises containing only a whisper of the voice of fact and the outskirts of the way of history).

The emphasis upon the creative activity of the early Church seems to be logically out of order. There is no indication that the primitive community was aware that it was the creator of the history of Jesus. "The early Church would have been astounded at the idea that they had no historical interest and had themselves created the gospel tradition."¹ Jesus was regarded as the authority, as the Christ. It was to his tradition that they would most likely have turned.² In such a case emphasis would fall upon Jesus as the creator of the tradition and upon the Church as the interpreting and selecting agent. This is not to deny altogether the creative tendency of the Church. It is to suggest the following premise: "Far too much is ascribed to the creation of the Early Church; far too little to the creative genius of the Church's Founder."³ Nonetheless the implications of the Church's creative activity must be noted.

The theory of community creations is not simply a firm no to the reliability of the factual contents of the Gospels. It also positively asserts the ability to see clearly that the Church has, for its own purposes, created and/or transformed the narrative of Jesus' life. This type of opposition to a more traditional interpretation brings forth many basic questions. In this instance: it is impossible to avoid asking one of them: "Did Jesus intend the Church?" The objective in answering the question is not to trace the development of the Church in the New Testament. It is to examine the actions and teachings of Jesus as recorded in the synoptic traditions to ascertain if and where he fostered the idea of the Church. Such is the purpose of this paper.

Many opinions have been issued on the subject. Some of them will be listed below.

And evidently he also uprooted by his word
a band of men out of their homes and occu-
pations to accompany him in his wandering life

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1. Floyd V. Filson, A New Testament History, page 78.
 2. Harald Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginning, pages 23f.
 3. A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, page 14.

as his "disciples"-i.e. his pupils(Mk. 1: 16-20; 2:14). Still he did not found an order or a sect, far less a "Church." 4

As one would expect from his general approach, Bultmann assumes that Jesus of Nazareth had no intention to found anything even vaguely resembling a Church. Bultmann quite adequately represents the negative answer to the question concerning Jesus and the Church. Jesus did not found the Church.

It was through fidelity to the ideal Judaism that Jesus became detached from empirical Judaism and condemned it, and he did not feel that he was the founder of a new religion. 5

Goguel continues to say that the founders of the Church "...did, however, ...develop the feelings and experiences which had been implanted in them through the impression made on them by his person and by his teaching." Thus he inserts a positive statement into the answer, but little is left to the initiative of the Master. Further in a following book, The Birth of Christianity, Jesus of Nazareth plays a very small role as one who influenced the founders of the Church. Goguel surely leaves an opening for the positive answer, but he makes no real concession toward Jesus' intention for a new community.

If the phrase 'organizing a Church' may include the idea of taking action in this world of space and time whereby a new confraternity should be created to be an instrument of God's final purpose,..then in that sense Jesus 'organized a church'. 6

Flew would by choice select other phrases to ask the fundamental question: Did Jesus found the Church? Yet aside from the desire to find more appropriate terminology, the quote above gives ample proof of the affirmative answer. His answer also reveals the hesitancy to use the word "Church". This is a most unfortunate tendency as it suggests that "Church" in the ministry of Jesus must conform to the present "Church".

4. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. I, page 10.

5. M. Goguel, The Life of Jesus, page 585.

6. R. N. Flew, Jesus and His Church, page 25.

He(Jesus) separated a small band from the rest of the Jews, sharply opposed to the Pharisaic scribes and ultimately to the whole, impenitent nation, to constitute the true ἐκκλησία or people of God. 7

Schmidt gives an unvarnished answer, as positive as Bultmann's nein is negative. With this evaluation the small sample laps the course, and it is clearly seen that there is a total divergence of opinion on the subject. No perfect answer can be given. There is still room for investigation and suggestion, even if they cannot be accompanied by universal acceptance.

There is a riddle in the New Testament. And it is a riddle neither of literary criticism, nor of date and authorship, nor of the historicity of this or that episode. The riddle is a theological riddle, which is insoluble apart from the solution of an historical problem. What was the relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and the Primitive Christian Church? That is the riddle. The New Testament documents...emerged from the Primitive Church. They reflected piety and encouraged faith. Was there, or was there not, a strict relationship between this rich piety and exuberant faith, and the historical figure of Jesus of Nazareth? 8

7. K. L. Schmidt, The Church, page 39.(TWNT art. 1938).

8. Sir Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davcy, The Riddle of the New Testament, Paper Edition, page 12.(First published 1931). Eduard Schweizer (in "Mark's Contribution to the Quest of the Historical Jesus", New Testament Studies, Volume X, July 1964, Number 4, page 431), suggests, concerning Mark, "Christianity would cease to be Christianity, if Jesus had not lived and died. In this sense, the historical Jesus is, in the highest possible degree, essential for the faith of the church." Schweizer perhaps represents a tendency to recognize that there must be a strict relationship between the historical Jesus and the primitive Church or any form of Christianity. The riddle then becomes: "Why 'was there... a strict relationship between this rich piety and exuberant faith, and the historical figure of Jesus of Nazareth?" Hopefully, this paper will be able to make a suggestion as to why this relationship must be traced to the intention of Jesus.

That a thorough examination of the actions and words of Jesus will reveal a core of material which suggests his intention to establish the Church is the thesis of the paper. That would be, if proved, a positive reply to the riddle. It may be possible that, in the light of modern research and the accumulated tradition of New Testament study, the attempt to substantiate such a thesis will serve the purpose of defining more clearly the relationship between Jesus and the Church.

The attitude assumed toward the worth, authenticity, historicity, or factual nature of the synoptics in a large way shapes or appears to shape the answer to the riddle posed above. There is one answer, already noted, which does suggest a strict relationship between the faith of primitive Christianity and Jesus of Nazareth. This answer indicates that the life of Jesus, to a great extent, has become the servant of the Church, which used this form to explain its own meaning and history.⁹ The historical Jesus has then a reverse relationship to primitive Christianity. This is in opposition to what had been supposed during the greater portion of the development of the Church. Jesus now obviously becomes in the Gospels a created person. It would not be too far wrong to characterize, in the following manner, the picture of Jesus which can result from this approach. He can be: a piece of clay spun on the potter's wheel of imagination, shaped by hands moving with dogmatic concern, baked in the ovens of the kyrios cult, and enamelled over with Hellenistic paints. Such an attitude will, followed to its natural conclusion, give a definite answer to the riddle. In giving answer to the riddle, it also replies to the question concerning the founding of the Church. The historical Jesus did not found the Church, but the faith in the Lord gave rise to the Church and coloured its records.¹⁰ This one solution to the riddle, which assigns so much to the creativity

9. Jas. M. Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark, pages 21-32.

10. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. I, pages 3-11.

of the Church, shows that the approach taken to the synoptic material has a great bearing on the eventual answer to the question: Did Jesus found the Church?

Due to the importance of the general attitude to the synoptic material in this particular instance, one should ask first of all for general hints that the tradition is in any way open to the question of the founding of the Church. There are at least two suggestions. (i) The word ἐκκλησία occurs only twice in the synoptic gospels (Mt. 16:18, 18:17). If the Church or anyone intimately connected with the transmission and compilation of the tradition had wished to make the life of Jesus witness to the founding of the Church there would have been more reference to precisely that item. This assumption is advanced against any suggestion of a flagrant use of the material. The argument from silence leads to another hint of openness to the question. (ii) If the compilers of the Gospels do not set out to show Jesus to be the founder of the Church then such a fact must surely have been assumed and almost universal. This obvious assumption relates Jesus and the foundation of the Church so closely together in the mind of the primitive community that the need for "proving" the fact never presented itself. "But what may appear here as an anachronism corresponds exactly with the Church's understanding of herself and her situation. She made herself one with those who did not already live by faith, but who at the beginning were called to obedience and faith by the word of Jesus."¹¹ Of course the fact of the matter is that many of the people were in both situations.

Thus an initial observation suggests that there is no obvious prejudice at work in the Gospels to establish Jesus as the founder. The argument is not given to advance the Gospels as completely open on the subject, but merely to assert that the material can be approached with

11. Gunther Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, pages 23-4.

some confidence because it has not been "used" to prove the point in question.

The whole problem of historical value and its related critical considerations must receive discussion because of their unmistakable influence on the question raised. The reversal in attitude toward the recovery of historical incidents in Jesus' life necessarily complicates this investigation. The positive approach of the nineteenth century was, according to most scholars, an impossibility. And consequently in reaction a negative philosophy has developed. In the short discussion of critical approaches which follows a review of the present situation will be given. An attempt will be made to relate this to the method which will be used in the study.

Does New Testament criticism close even the possibility of the question raised?

(a) Textual criticism. It has placed before the student a more than adequate text, and although this thorough study has revealed the influence exerted by the great Churches upon the transmission of the text, it does not suggest any great alterations or over-powering interests.¹² There is little other than positive advancement found in the results of textual criticism.

(b) Source criticism. It has reached some more or less definite conclusions in evaluating Mark, Q, M, and L with their places in the synoptic Gospels. Its labours have been instructive and are readily available to the student in his investigation of the synoptic material. This critical approach has been able to test and counter-balance the sources of the Gospels and produce significant suggestions concerning the relationship between Jesus and the primitive Church.

...if... analysis should reveal a steady
unity of direction; if the four great
blocks of material show a general agree-

12. B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels. The entire impression of the study may be reviewed on pages 1-148.

ment, and the editors are found to be mainly engaged in exposing a significance already contained in the material that they are handling, then, however awkward the result may be, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the unity of direction was set in motion, not by the creative faith of the Primitive Church, but by the teachings and actions of Jesus of Nazareth. 13

Perhaps this quote goes too far in its confidence concerning the possibility for source criticism. But, it does show in which direction the study has cast its weight. It may be that the negative philosophy in some historical study would be tempered if more notice were taken of the results of source criticism.

(c) Historical criticism. It has made a thorough reading of the New Testament within the light of the contemporary thought. Its results are difficult to weigh either from a positive or a negative point of view. A comment by Vincent Taylor seems most acceptable: "If one thing emerges from Historical Criticism more than any other it is the distinctiveness and originality of the Gospels. We compare (them) with everything else on earth, only to find that there is nothing quite like them."¹⁴ The same kind of conclusion is given by E. Schweizer who thinks that the writing of the Gospel of Mark was in itself an astonishing thing. His astonishment is based on the observation: "For there are almost no prototypes."¹⁵

(d) Form criticism. It is usually considered to have maintained a road block on the way to historical recovery. Actually the underlying suppositions of many of the form critics have posed the difficulty rather than the method. However, the methodology itself has come in for revealing criticism. The basis for the approach of Form Criticism is seen in the following quote.

The criticism of the Form of the Gospel, i.e. of this material, does not begin, therefore,

13. Hoskyns and Davey, Riddle, pages 80-1.

14. Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition, pages 8-9.

15. E. Schweizer, "Mark's Contribution to the Quest of the Historical Jesus", op. cit., page 421.

with the work of the evangelists, for it has... already reached a certain completion of development by the time we have reached the form of the evangelical books. What now takes place is the further development of this category of writing up to the collecting of a tradition that had grown "wild" and that had been consciously corrected. 16

It was supposed by the form critics that these bits and pieces of growing tradition could be subjected to the laws of development which would hold true for other folk-tales. But, others insist that the picture of Jesus in the Gospels does not come from developing community stories. "It rested upon Jewish standards of education, and the conservative mentality of the Beth-ha-Midrash may be considered to offer a closer analogy to that of the Church than the naive creativeness of a primitive story-telling society."¹⁷

The presuppositions of the form critics are still the most important consideration. This is seen in the divergence of attitude, in regard to historical validity, between such form critics as Bultmann and Schmidt. The difference of opinion within the method can be seen in the interpretations Bultmann and Schmidt give to Matthew 16:18. The illustration of frequent disagreement may be seen in Schmidt's work on the Church.¹⁸ Furthermore, Taylor rightly states that the criticism of forms does not necessarily produce only negative conclusions about historical worth.¹⁹ The critical method of Formgeschichte does not raise the question of authenticity, and at least one scholar thinks that the discussion of forms seems to have passed its day.²⁰ However, two ideas which have always been closely connected with form criticism do introduce negative conclusions about the history of the Gospels and their reliability.

16. Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, page 4. (Paper Edition)

17. James Peter, Finding the Historical Jesus, page 53. Peter is quoting Wm. Manson.

18. Schmidt, The Church, pages 35-50.

19. Taylor, Formation, page 21.

20. Jas. M. Robinson, A New Quest of the Historical Jesus, page 37.

(i) The Sitz im Leben of the material of the Gospels is identified as that of the Church and not that of the life of Jesus. (ii) All the synoptics, even and perhaps especially Mark, are said to be controlled by dogmatic theological concern.

(i) With the "new" Sitz im Leben of the material in question, Form Criticism supposes itself thereby to have shifted the burden of proof. It is now expected that any incident recorded in the Gospels must be shown to be in the life of Jesus. Any other material, which cannot be so demonstrated, is assigned to the situation of the early Christian community. But, the form critics have never adequately justified this dogmatic conclusion because of their obvious disagreement as to the situation in the life of the Church. Dibelius finds examples for preaching, and Bultmann finds the remains of debates.²¹ The basic suggestions that the Gospels represent selections within the preserved tradition must be admitted, and the Church certainly applied the recollection of Jesus to its situation. However, the present writer cannot accept the suggestion that the Gospels represent first the life of the Church and only secondarily that of Jesus. There are several reasons for this, in addition to the fact that the form critics cannot agree upon the situation in which the material was used.

First, there is an absence of detailed discussion of matters of great importance to the Church between the death of Jesus and the writing of the Gospels. There is an absence of the teaching on baptism and especially about the Holy Spirit.²² The distribution of the stories about Jesus attest to their historical worth, as do their subjects which are appropriate to his day. And if they are the creation of the

21. M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel; R. Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition. Harold Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings, (A Study in the Limits of 'Formgeschichte'), pages 8-16 deals very convincingly with the situation in the life of the Church as suggested by Bultmann and Dibelius.

22. E.F. Scott, The Validity of the Gospel Record, page 104.

Church it is difficult to explain why they do not deal with "...the Cross, or the Gentile Mission, or the foundation and organization of the Church."²³

Secondly, there is a deficiency of the theological language characteristic of Paul, the Gospel of John, and the Church between 70 and 90 A.D. If the Gospels are actually the interpretation of the meaning of the Church through the life of Jesus, it is hardly likely that they would be so lacking in its terminology and subject matter.

The form critics do not give sufficient reasoning as to why the early Church had any oral tradition or why it sought to make use of the words and events in Jesus' life. To say that the Church collected, transformed, or created stories and words of Jesus because of its own needs is not enough. This puts too much emphasis upon the need of the Church and not enough on the authoritative position of Jesus. Filson is correct when he says:

Furthermore, in that one generation when the tradition was preserved only in oral form, it was not a folk tale that was being transmitted.... It was the story of one whom the church considered the Lord and future judge of his followers; they expected to be judged by their response to what he had taught and done, so they had urgent reason to remember what he had done and said and to govern life by that tradition. 24

It seems as though these arguments must seriously modify the position that Form Criticism has taken in regard to the Sitz im Leben of the Gospel material. But this discussion merely leads up to the most important reservation held concerning the authenticity of the synoptic tradition.

(ii) All the synoptics, even and perhaps especially Mark, are said to be controlled by dogmatic theological concern. The door to the synoptics as sources for the history of Jesus does not seem to be closed by

23. Taylor, Formation, page 86.

24. Filson, New Testament History, page 78.

any method of criticism. But it is presumably fastened by the idea of doctrinal concern. Doctrinal concern means here the suggestion that all the synoptic materials are to be treated as works to state a theological position and not as history.²⁵

We are taught...that even St. Mark was written 'from faith to faith': that is, that, so far from being a mere collection of annals, it reflects the religious convictions of the community which was its cradle; that it represents an interpretation of Jesus in terms of Christian conviction; and in short, belongs rather to liturgy and even to high theology than to history in any of its colder and more annalistic senses. 26

How securely does this theory block the avenue "to history in any of its colder and more annalistic senses?" Does it make impossible the question of the relationship between Jesus and the Church? The answer rarely has been an absolute no. Almost all scholars have gone far enough to suggest that the recovery of certain aspects of the life of Jesus seems to be possible.

Before making any reaction to this conception of theological domination, the form critics' own work should be viewed in relation to it.

(1) Bultmann and Dibelius have both written books about the historical Jesus and used titles not unlike liberal biographers. Of course neither of them is so optimistic about what may be recovered concerning Jesus, but their books do reveal that certain things may be known about Jesus. One

25. This development of thought is generally traced in connection with Mark through Wrede and Wellhausen. Its classical expression in English is R.H. Lightfoot's History and Interpretation in the Gospels, which states unreservedly that Mark is so engaged in using the material to get across theological considerations that he leaves only traces of Jesus.

26. A.J.B. Higgins(editor), New Testament Essays(In Memory of T.W. Manson), article by C.F.D. Moule, "The Intention of the Evangelists", page 166. Moule is reacting to such a position as this: "For Mark, however, it is not the historical Jesus that he proclaims. It is not a Jesus who could be reconstructed and carried over from his to our time by historians. He can only be proclaimed and witnessed to by a believer like Mark."(Schweizer, "Mark's Contribution", op. cit., page 423.)

is tempted to say that it is a matter of quantity which distinguishes the form critic from the liberals who also watched out for theological presuppositions.

(ii) In some respects one may say that such a form critic as Bultmann actually claims more knowledge about the historie of Jesus than those against whom he reacts. For example, take this statement: "He (Jesus) does not proclaim himself as Messiah..."²⁷ Such a statement must attest to historie on a high level. This is so for two reasons. First, it presupposes the historical knowledge which one would need to make a historical judgement about what Jesus may or may not have said about himself. Secondly, and probably more significant, it makes a claim for considerable historical understanding of first generation Christianity. Why with far less material directly related to it, is the historie of the earliest Church so readily available? This all leads to the suggestion that it takes just as much historical knowledge to say what a person did not or could not say as it does to make positive statements. To illustrate again reference may be made to Schweizer's statement quoted in foot-note 26. There he portrays a Jesus inaccessible to the historian of our time. However, when he argues against Jesus' intention to found the Church, he says: "...Jesus avoided all the usual titles that might describe the importance of his person."²⁸ The purpose here is not to debate the conclusions of Bultmann or Schweizer, but to show that their conclusions are beyond doubt historical judgements which presuppose historical knowledge. Fundamentally it makes no difference in this instance whether one confirms or denies the authenticity of the Gospels, for in either case a historical(historisch) decision has been made.

However, this theological concern of men with post-Resurrection experience, reading dogma back into the record of Jesus, could make any venture into cold history a risky and improbable business. The

27. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 9.

28. Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament, page 23.

question is how far does the theological concern really go in the synoptic material. C.F.D. Moule, in his article "The Intention of the Evangelists", suggests that it does not dominate in Mark.²⁹ He points to the obvious deficiency of credal statements and the distance between the estimate of the status of Jesus in Mark and in Paul. He mentions further the lack of a thorough examination of the sacraments. Although Moule is concerned with arguing against Mark as being essentially a statement of belief by a worshipping group, he certainly points to a gap in the argument about the domination of the material by a theological concern. But, there is no way to effectively hold that a work beginning

Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

can be free from theological concern. The presence of the Messianic secret reveals that "Mark" was very much aware of doctrinal matters. E.F. Scott, among others, has asked why this could not have been a part of the ministry of Jesus.³⁰ "No cause has appeared to deny that much in the secrecy passages may well be a record of historical fact, relating what the Lord actually did or said. But that the frequency and present form of these passages derives in some measure from the influence of doctrinal ideas looks certain."³¹

Certainly Mark and other New Testament writers work with doctrinal prejudices and presuppositions, but it seems rash to exclude the possibility of the recovery of history because of this prejudice. The statements of negative conclusions about the validity of Gospels, whether by Form Criticism or its basic presuppositions, do not really suffice. And it is very noticeable that the form critics have entered into the attempt to separate authentic history from the theology of the writers of the synoptics. The negative suggestions of the form critics should not act as complete barricades on the road to historical recovery, but rather as signs of caution.

29. Moule, "The Intention of the Evangelists", op. cit., page 171.

30. Scott, Validity, pages 33-4.

31. G.H. Boobyer, "The Secrecy Motif in St Mark's Gospel", NTS, Vol. 6, No. 3. April 1960. page 233.

There has been no undertaking here to formulate the final judgement on the matter of historical validity. It is merely a short statement attempting to weigh the implications of the various critical approaches to the New Testament as history. It has been basically negative in character, and it establishes no positive criteria for viewing the synoptics. The summary does reflect the conviction that one can neither view the Gospels as entirely open to the historian nor closed to him.³²

The debate over validity seems now to have two points: (a) the impossibility (and often undesirability) of historical (historisch) recovery, and (b) the impossibility of the negative conclusion. So the tone of the discussion tends to become absolutely negative. Due to the far-reaching effect of the question of historical worth, it has been necessary for those seeking actual history in the Gospels to spend their time showing in minute detail that a particular verse crucial to their point in question is historically accurate. No one can rightfully deny the necessity of such a verse by verse study, but sometimes the work from such labours has lost its energy and power by dwelling on the negative. It does not proceed from any positive point of view, as the work of the form critic has proceeded from very definite conclusions about the subject. When the work is reduced to the removal of isolated texts the facts are often without life and context. To some, the facts so revealed are of little value save as an occurrence prefacing a new religion.³³ Or they are to be strung together according to the philosophical bias of one who assumes he has discovered the real Jesus.³⁴ How is it possible in

32. For a very thorough discussion of the problem, the works of Scott and Taylor, which have already been cited, are helpful. T.W. Manson in an article "The Life of Jesus: Some Tendencies in Present-Day Research", The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology (Honour of C.H. Dodd), Daube and Davies, editors, gives a penetrating analysis of radical criticism.

33. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 3.

34. The Jesus revealed by the deluge of the "lives of Jesus" was the earliest result of this method. More recently it has been the Jesus some authors have reclaimed from Bultmann.

this instance to set up a positive approach to the synoptics? That is the question now. How can the hope of historical recovery be held open and actuated without "using" the material simply to form the conclusion which is desired?

Perhaps the best results would come by forming an outlook on the Gospels in contrast to the errors of the two systems described above.

- (i) The school of thought which denies the possibility of historical recovery leaves unexplained matters which require thorough explanation.
- (ii) The reconstruction approach fails often to see the living figure of Jesus of Nazareth, which shapes the form and content of the Gospels. Therefore, starting with fragments it attempts to piece together the whole.

(i) The first point is most obvious. There are two places where it receives excellent expression, showing the error in denying historical recovery. Rudolf Otto suggests:

It(i.e. negative radical criticism) does violence to the sources and proceeds in an unhistorical manner in so far as it leaves unexplained a datum which even it concedes to be historical, viz. that there arose not a school which handed on a thought complex as expressed in significant sayings of its master, but a church which knew that it was rescued for the eschatological order because it belonged to a certain saviour. The church did not produce, but was produced by that Messianic faith, and without that faith it would not have come into being. 35

Sir Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey further state:

For any historical reconstruction which leaves an unbridgeable gulf between the faith of the primitive church and the historical Jesus must be both inadequate and uncritical; inadequate because it leaves the origin of the church unexplained; and

35. Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, page 159.

uncritical, because a critical sifting of the evidence of the New Testament points toward the life and death of Jesus as the ground of the primitive Christian faith, and points in no other direction. 36

It is obvious in this context that any approach to the New Testament record of Jesus which fails to explain the existence of the Church must have grave shortcomings. Therefore, the first positive criterion for establishing an approach to the synoptic material, in order to determine the relationship between Jesus and the origin of the Church, is that a thoroughly sound and fair approach will explain the sudden rise of the community. It means that a historical fact must have an explanation. The logical place to look for that explanation is where the Church itself looked, namely to Jesus of Nazareth. The Gospels must then be approached as that which most probably contains the origin of the Church, unless one is prepared to state the grand paradox that a community created itself, then created a record, and then explained its own creation in terms of what it had created.

(ii) Movements which change the outlook of a particular study often receive their impetus from a reaction to errors in that field. The negative radical criticism has come into existence partially as an answer to the optimistic liberal attempt to regulate Christianity in terms of what it wished to recover of the history of Jesus. It has in its turn brought some overstatements about history which are perhaps as inaccurate as much of the older liberalism. Consequently attempts are made to refute its arguments in a step by step, subject by subject process. This is a very difficult procedure, and it should be done within the scope of some positive expectation. The strength of radical criticism has come in part from the philosophy which was presupposed by the critics. It gave them a unified perspective from which to approach the material.

Is there a positive perspective from which to reply to the skepticism of radical criticism? A partial yes has been given in the suggestion that the synoptic material will be the most likely place in which to find the reason for the emergence of the Christian community. However, beyond this there should be the more confident expectation in regard to the history of Jesus. Now the point is reached where the idea of "objectivity" must be considered.³⁷ No one can approach the Gospels without presuppositions that will sway judgements, and the prejudice should be realized. There is great truth in James Peter's statement: "...Historiography can never result in pure objectivity...the present situation of the historian is bound to affect the facts which his interpretation of the data establishes..."³⁸ In this case it must be admitted that the synoptics are approached from a positive perspective. The inevitable impression the synoptics leave is one which suggests that their authors had taken hold of things which they could not fully comprehend. These writers were not able to control entirely the movement of their subject. Rather than coming through as collections of material which form a picture of Jesus, the Gospels appear as collections formed by the impression of Jesus. In other words he moves through them as a living figure. He himself is the glue which holds together what is called the destroyed framework of the Gospels.

37. "Objectivity" is apparently very rare in the consideration of the historical Jesus. Jesus is too often not unlike a prevailing worldview and totally unlike any traditional conception. Perhaps this can be seen in the 19th century worship of the laws of natural science or the present preoccupation with Heidegger. T.W. Manson's withering comments on Jesus being presented as a sort of pre-Heideggerian incarnation are of value: "There are others in our day who would find in the essential Jesus the reflection of their own chosen philosophy. It is easy to laugh at those who, a couple of generations ago, saw in Jesus a good nineteenth century liberal humanist with a simple faith in a paternal deity. It is less easy to see the joke when the Jesus of history is a twentieth century existentialist, a kind of pre-existent Heidegger." The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, page 220.

38. James Peter, Finding the Historical Jesus, page 173.

Support for this contention is found in an unexpected place. Paul Althaus notes a similar conclusion in the writings of Martin Kähler. It is significant that such agreement should be found in Kähler who is credited with making impossible the popular lives of Jesus and is connected with Bultmann and the whole process of de-mythologizing.

Ein Rückfall der „Schriftkunde“ in den Historismus oder in einen rationalistischen Pragmatismus ist durch Martin Kähler im Prinzip unmöglich gemacht...

Kein Wunder, dass die neuere Diskussion um das Problem der „Entmythologisierung“ immer wieder auch den Blick auf M. Kähler zurücklenkt... 39

Here is the quote which Althaus takes from Kähler:

Thus one must come to the conclusion that here the man in His incomparable and mighty personality, with His unparalleled actions and experiences...has etched His picture into the mind and memory of His followers, so sharply and so deeply, that it could neither be erased nor distorted. 40

There was for Kähler a picture of Jesus to be found in the maze of memories recorded in the Gospels. And in the light of the quote cited in Althaus it is easy enough to see why Kähler would say of Jesus: "He Himself is the author of this picture." 41

This does not mean that one can rightfully avoid a close scrutiny of the Gospels, in fact it may make no fundamental alteration in the method. But, the emphasis on the creative power of Jesus does suggest a positive approach to the Gospels.

The real question remains: Do the Synoptic gospels reveal a picture of Jesus which explains the historical fact of the primitive Christian church? It is assumed that the answer lies in the Synoptic tradition which is open to the question.

39. E. Wolf, foreward to: Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus by Martin Kähler, page 6.

40. Paul Althaus, The So-Called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus, page 26.

41. Ibid.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER I
THE QUESTION OF HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL JESUS

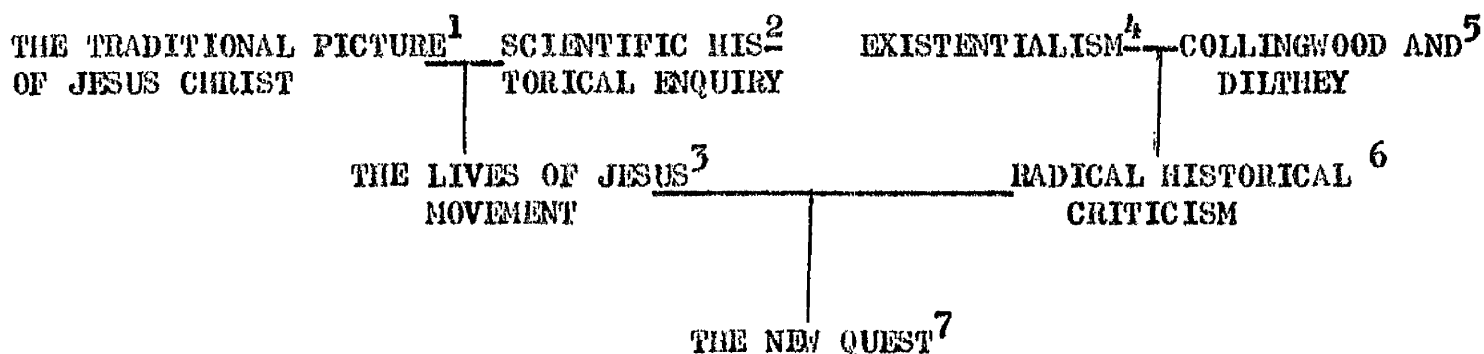
To have decided that the various critical approaches to the Syhopic tradition do not invalidate a search for authentic history may be a minor choice. Obviously judgements about historical authenticity have been made on the basis of everyone of the critical methods mentioned. The Liberals used the Gospel of Mark with the confidence that it would lead to positive information of such amount that biographies of Jesus could be constructed. Form criticism generally has led its users to a denial of much that had been previously regarded as authentic. However, in either case historical judgements were being made through critical methods. There is some continuity then, and it is not surprising that the subjectivity of the new quest is not unlike that of the old. As D. E. Nineham says of Bornkamm's Jesus of Nazareth:

In the future, books will no doubt be written which give a significantly different picture of Jesus. In principle, this seems to me bound to happen, for, when all due allowance has been made for the more modest aims and the more rigorous techniques of the "new quest", it remains true that where our sources are so scanty, a good deal of subjectivity is still bound to enter into any reconstruction. 42

Nineham seems almost to be warning that the new quest may be in real danger of being a less optimistic version of the old quest. He does certainly point out that there is a continuity, but it is undoubtedly based more upon a need for the historical Jesus than upon the common subjectivity of the writers. Yet the new quest also maintains a continuity with the form-critical and existential approach beginning with Kähler and reaching fulfilment in Bultmann. An over-simplified geneology may dia- ×

42. D. E. Nineham, "Some Reflections on the Present Position with Regard to the Historical Jesus", Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament, page 15.

grammatically show this issue from an unhappy marriage.



1. The problem of history does not appear to be of great significance for those who take a fundamentalistic approach to the Bible. One might illustrate this by saying that the Ascension for a fundamentalist is a historical occurrence, perhaps supernatural in origin, but it would be for him "photographable"; it would really be a historical event. Wherever this fundamentalistic view has been maintained there has been no real union with scientific historical enquiry, and its holders have been bypassed. That on the other hand there has been a marriage between the traditional picture of Jesus Christ and historical investigation is reflected in the following quotes.

History has become our fate. We must therefore pass everything which we think, say, and believe about Jesus through the fire of historical criticism. The more anyone seeks to withdraw from history the more he is drawn into it. 43

Our understanding of history has been revolutionized since biblical times, and this revolution cannot fail to have profound consequences for the claims involved in the assertion that Christianity is a historical religion. 44

2. The scientific historical enquiry may be associated with von Ranke who in his Lectures in Modern History showed a desire to return to the past wie es eigentlich gewesen ist.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly a driving force in its

43. Heinz Zahrnt, The Historical Jesus, page 19.

44. John Macquarrie, The Scope of Demythologizing, page 61.

45. Nineham, "Some Reflections", op.cit., page 2.

application to the "traditional" picture of Jesus Christ was Ernst Troeltsch.⁴⁶ The union of the two forces produced a division between Jesus Christ. Now there was a decision to be made between the Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith. "In an age so historically dominated, the issue hardly presented itself as a choice; those who accepted the validity of the contrast between the Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith, took it for granted that it was to the former that the truly religious man must be committed."⁴⁷

3. There is no difficulty then in seeing how the lives of Jesus came into being. They seem to have been the logical issue of the marriage of scientific enquiry with the biblical material. Schweitzer has made a description of the phenomena rather unnecessary. But, in passing it should be noted that the lives of Jesus indicated the desire for a scientifically verifiable appreciation of the Christian religion. Jesus, shorn of supernatural trimmings, was the answer to this need.

4. The other line of development may be seen forming through a union between existentialism and a philosophy of history which produced what Macquarrie calls an "existentialist approach to history".⁴⁸ On this arbitrary time line we may take Heidigger as an example. His proposition that the origin of history is the "historicality" of man makes the history of man inescapably involved in his own subjectivity.⁴⁹ What this type of idea means for the historian may be seen in Dilthey and Collingwood.

5. The chief implication of the study is the belief that the historian does not simply deal with isolated facts (i.e. history as a spectacle to use Collingwood's language), which he can shape and arrange. He must re-live the historical process in himself. The implication of this thought, for some, was to undercut effectively the scientific recovery program associated with the lives of Jesus movement.⁵⁰

46. Zahrnt, The Historical Jesus, pages 17f.; Macquarrie, The Scope, pages 65f.

47. Nineham, "Some Reflections", op. cit., page 3.

48. Macquarrie, The Scope, page 81

49. Zahrnt, The Historical Jesus, pages 92f.

50. See: R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History; Jas. M. Robinson, The New Quest of the Historical Jesus, pages 26-47; H. A. Hodges, Wilhelm Dilthey An Introduction; F. Gogarten, Demythologizing and History, pages 18f, 25-33.

6. The issue of this combination was the school of negative historical criticism whose beginnings are associated with Kähler and whose spokesman has undoubtedly been Bultmann; Althaus is particularly appreciative of the influence of Kähler,⁵¹ but it is Bultmann who is to be reckoned with. There is a great distance between the lives of Jesus, wherein the scientifically verifiable Jesus minus Christ was the all in all, to the opening statement of Bultmann's Theology: "The message of Jesus is a presupposition for the theology of the New Testament rather than a part of that theology itself."⁵²

Of course such a skeleton outline as this does injustice to the developing thought which produced the new quest. But it does suggest something of the nature of the discussion. Before reviewing how these developments have led to the "new quest", it is necessary to ask what may be the basic question in the whole matter. The question is: "Is Christianity a religion based on history or myth?" That is to ask if Christianity could continue to exist without the historical reality of Jesus? Is it possible that Christianity may be founded purely on myth? Some of the answers given to this question are quite interesting.

The Berne school and its chief representative, Fritz Buri, seem to hold, almost alone, the position that there is no real connection between the Christian proclamation and a historical reason or event. H-W Bartsch, speaking specifically of Buri, has said:

All Christological statements, even the most rudimentary form of the kerygma, "Jesus is the Christ", have a symbolic character. This character must be laid bare "by seeing it as the mythological expression of an experience of 'redemption', which in turn must be interpreted in the light of an analogous experience of Self." He hopes to offer "an objective criterion for the adequacy of any given Christology". This is "the creative activity of God through which men partake of salvation in suffering and guilt". But despite this attempt

51. P. Althaus, The So-Called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus, pages 19-37.

52. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 3.

to reassure us, there is nothing to stop him from interpreting this experience of Self without reference to its cause....

The kerygma is thus unleashed completely from its historical moorings. 53

The loss of the historical reality of Jesus would have no lasting consequences for this school of thought. It would have consequences for others. Tillich says: "Without the concreteness of the New Being, its newness would be empty. Only if existence is conquered concretely and in its manifold aspects, is it actually conquered."⁵⁴

Macquarrie says: "The Christian way of life is not something which the Church has just made up out of her imagination, but something which she has learned from an actual instance of that kind of life to which her own continued existence testifies."⁵⁵ The fact that this way of life was lived is the only way of knowing that it may be a real possibility.

However, one may question the seriousness with which these statements are made because both Tillich and Macquarrie wish to preserve the foundation of faith from historical investigation. Both are criticized at this point.

Tillich claims that he safeguards the rights of historical research by isolating historical truth from the truth of faith and thus removing the theological desire to dictate the biographical details necessary to faith. But what rights remain if historical research is not allowed to affect the truth of faith? Surely if historical truth gained with the aid of research can not affect the Christian's ultimate concern'...or whatever faith may be called, historical truth is not being taken seriously. 56

One must follow Tillich to his radical conclusion, namely that 'the concrete biblical material is not guaranteed by faith in respect to empirical factuality', and that this does not matter because 'the foundation of Christian belief is not the historical Jesus, but the biblical picture of the Christ'. 57

53. Hans-Werner Bartsch, "The Present State of the Debate", Kerygma and Myth, II, page 64.

54. Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology, II, page 132.

55. Macquarrie, The Scope of Demythologizing, page 98.

56. B.J.R. Cameron, "The Historical Problem in Paul Tillich's Christology", Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. 18, No. 3, page 266.

57. Ibid., page 269.

The criticism of Macquarrie is at the same point. "It is generally recognized that the sinlessness of Jesus, whatever exactly that means, is a postulate rather than a dictum of faith."⁵⁸ Nineham goes on to ask if the possibility that there has been a genuine realization of Christian life must not always be a matter of faith. Surely Macquarrie does not mean that this genuine life may be revealed by historical investigation. Possibly he means that there was a person named Jesus who lived (page 97). But if it could be proved that Jesus never lived then Christianity would be "greatly impoverished" because the Christian way of life would be a "remote ideal" (page 98). So he does seem to be dependent upon what he calls a "minimal core of historical factuality" (page 98). But how minimal is this knowledge of a genuine Christian life? Is it not indeed more than minimal? And can there be any justification for assuming that in some meaningful way then the basis of faith is not up for some verification or denial? Certainly Macquarrie's statement above does not agree with this: "It may be that Christianity is more liable to be modified by historical research than a religion whose essence consisted in timeless truths, but even the most destructive results of historical criticism would not reach far enough to overthrow it."⁵⁹

Macquarrie and Tillich represent the conviction that Christianity is a historical religion but also the desire to preserve it from the effects of historical criticism. Yet this is the scandal of Christianity--it proclaims a genuine historical person. If it is serious about this proclamation it cannot immunize itself from investigation. The kerygma or message of Christianity is about a certain person, the way he lived and died. Does he seem to measure up to its message? Is he in any way grounds for the proclamation? This is a serious question and a real purpose for historical investigation. When D.E. Nineham raised this issue he admitted that it might be naive, but this did not prevent him from putting it well. x

58. Nineham, "Some Reflections", op. cit., page 12.

59. Macquarrie, The Scope, page 74.

That the kerygma should contain a considerable amount of what, from the standpoint of the modern critical historian, must be regarded as inaccuracy, this I can make sense of in terms of God's condescension...and his self-limitation...But the total baselessness or inaccuracy of the statements in the kerygma...would seem to be so pointless a paradox as to undermine the kerygma altogether. 60

The reason then that Christianity is to be considered a historical religion is because it presents a historical person as the basis of its proclamation. The kerygma does not deny interest in Jesus but proclaims him.⁶¹ The real question then becomes: Does he reflect or reveal the basis for the kerygma? This is a reason for the new quest. But before dealing with that development some criticism of it should be observed.

S.M. Ogden and Van Harvey are among those who have had some criticisms of the new quest for the historical Jesus.⁶² Harvey has given several different criticisms of the movement. He wonders if J.M Robinson, as representative of the new quest, can really hope to return to the "existential selfhood" of Jesus. This attempt he thinks involves the same difficulties which defeated the old quest. For one thing, Harvey accepts the results of negative criticism. From this standpoint he raises the valid question: "Can the existential selfhood of any person, past or present, be known except by inferences drawn from so-called external and chronological data?"⁶³ If the answer is no then Harvey suspects that the new quest will be asking the same questions as the liberals have raised. So because of its continuity with the old quest, Harvey raises an objection against the new one. This is not a serious objection compared with the problem: "Is it really possible, in principle, to know the deepest-lying motiva-

60. Nineham, "Some Reflections", op. cit., page 13.

61. E. Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith and Sonsum-
mation, page 181: "For precisely this is the feature that distinguishes
Christian faith from all other religions; that, is faith in an historical
person as the self-communication of God."

62. See: Ogden(editor), (Introduction) to Existence and Faith; "Ba[t]mann
and the 'New Quest'", The Journal of Bible and Religion, July, 1962,
pages 209-18. Van A. Harvey, "The Historical Jesus, the Kerygma, and
Christian Faith", Religion in Life, Summer, 1964. pages 430-50.

63. Harvey, "The Historical Jesus", op. cit., page 438.

tions of a person?"⁶⁴ The question is well taken, and the answer is that it is never possible to know with scientific certainty the deepest motivations of any person. But this does not prevent one from observing by the actions and words of others what appears to be basic to them. If the new quest is an attempt to psychologize Jesus it has overstepped any human possibility, and Harvey is absolutely correct. If on the other hand it is based on a desire to discover, as far as possible, the person and message of Jesus as reflected in what he did and said, Harvey's criticism may not be so necessary.

Ogden challenges the newness of the quest. He sees it as an attempt to establish continuity between the kerygma and the historical Jesus. But he maintains that this is nothing new, Bultmann has already done the same thing.⁶⁵ Ogden is severely critical of the "inexcusable" misunderstanding of Bultmann in the English-speaking world on this point. Contrary to what is admittedly attributed to Bultmann, he gives the following quote and comments about it.

"If Paul, like the earliest community, saw in Jesus the Messiah, he did nothing other than affirm Jesus' own claim that man's destiny is decided with reference to his own person." ...there can be no question whatever that he has consistently affirmed an essential continuity between the Jesus of history and the Christ proclaimed by the Christian church. 66

There is something strained and almost amusing about this quotation from Bultmann as used by Ogden. It appears, out of the immense flood of Bultmann's writings, rather more like a drop of water than a continuing stream. In fact when Harvey seeks to make the same point he uses only this quote also, and notes that Ogden had already cited it on still another occasion. One wonders if the quotation is not very exhausted by now. However, Harvey does admit that Bultmann has not followed this line very consistently.⁶⁷ Others reserve a more critical appraisal of this continuity. Althaus also quotes a passage from Bultmann, a passage more significant

64. Harvey, "The Historical Jesus", op. cit., page 439.

65. Ogden (editor), Existence and Faith, page 12.

66. Ibid.

67. Harvey, "The Historical Jesus", op. cit., page 444.

than the one used by Harvey and Ogden. "I do not deny the close relationship of the Easter kerygma to the earthly and crucified Jesus."⁶⁸ Althaus makes this response. "But this remains for him an absolutely general statement, which receives no concrete expression whatsoever in the kerygma theology."⁶⁹ Is not the point simply that Bultmann has no important interest in the historical Jesus? By his own words he has no concern whether the history of Jesus is either "verifiable" or "relatively ascertainable".⁷⁰ He does not deny the continuity, it is simply that the Jesus of history cannot be proven to be Christ nor disproved, nor for that matter can he be more than hardly known. To over-simplify again, one might say that in the division of Jesus Christ, Bultmann is the exact reverse of the liberals, his interest is in the Christ of faith.

So one may say, despite Ogden, that there is a point of newness in the new quest. It has a desire to see the historical person and message with which the kerygma is continuous. We have come to the new quest through a rather artificial scheme. Still the scheme reveals than an interest in the historical basis of Christianity combined with a true appreciation for the kerygmatic proclamation of the faith has led to the new quest. One hopes that the excesses which have sometimes prevailed in the two movements from which it springs do not dominate it.

7. The New Quest. The name is associated with Jas. M. Robinson, Ernst Käsemann, Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Ebeling, Ernst Fuchs, and Hans Conzelmann.⁷¹ These scholars reveal a desire to deal with the historical Jesus. The desire is theologically motivated. The attempt must be made to relate the Jesus of ^{history} to the proclaimed Christ, so that the latter proclamation is not baseless. Zahrnt quotes Bornkamm (page 96), Käsemann (page 96), Dinkler (page 97), Conzelmann (page 102), and Ebeling (page 105) to this effect. Then he gives the following summary.

We...must look for a way from the kerygma to
Jesus himself with detailed historical study.
We must use this method to demonstrate the

68. Bultmann quoted by Althaus, The So-Called Kerygma, page 45.

69. Ibid.

70. Kerygma and Myth, "Bultmann Replies to His Critics", page 207.

71. Zahrnt, The Historical Jesus, pages 95-106.

historical connection between the Jesus of history and the Christ of proclamation. For if it is doubtful whether the Christ who meets us in the kerygma of the first community is the same as the earthly Jesus, then it is doubtful whether the earthly Jesus is not a myth and the kerygma merely a religious product of the first community. 72

The new quest seems to be justified simply on the basis that the kerygma is a proclamation of Jesus. Therefore, Christianity claims to be a historical faith. It is based in history, not in a proclamation about history or about Jesus. "It is not the kerygma about Jesus as the Christ that is the foundation of Christian faith, it is Jesus the Christ Himself."⁷³ To remain historical, Christianity cannot rest content without Jesus. To remain faith it cannot assume that the results of historical investigation prove its claim. It does seek to proclaim Jesus the Christ that men may decide.

However, there seems to be indicated by some that there should be more involved in the new quest than giving a historical base to the kerygma. For there is more than proclamation and decision to the Christian life. There is a continuing discipleship. Because there is more involved in obedience than a decision, the new quest for the historical Jesus may take an added dimension.

If man were a computer, he would need nothing except the shortest and most theoretical kerygma, and even this in the form of some holes punched into cardboard. Since man is no computer, but a being of flesh and blood, he needs the manifestation of God's revelation in flesh and blood in order to continue believing, that is, following Jesus. 74

It is hoped that the paper will show that Jesus created a fellowship of faith based on decision and discipleship. If this is the case, the continuity between kerygma and history is preserved in the experience of Jesus' own people. Their own faith in his historical significance paves the way for and makes sense of the kerygmatic proclamation.

72. Zahrnt, The Historical Jesus, page 106.

73. Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of the Church, pages 179-80.

74. E. Schweizer, "Mark's Contribution", op. cit., page 432.

CHAPTER II

THE LINES OF INVESTIGATION

The question of the relationship between Jesus and the Church for many years revolved around the Protestant-Roman Catholic debates concerning the "rock" passage in Matthew, with the related consideration of apostolic succession and the like. The possibility that Jesus may not have intended the Church was obviously not raised by official Roman Christendom, nor could it make headway, prior to the days of biblical criticism, in Protestant scholarship. However, twentieth century New Testament study shows that a release from authoritative inspiration not only allows the question, but quite often gives to it a negative answer. As an example of such rejection of the intention of Jesus to establish a Church, the following works may be cited: R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament; J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity; E. F. Scott, The Beginnings of the Christian Church; and E. Schweizer, Gemeinde und Gemeindeordnung im Neuen Testament. All these books contain, to a greater or lesser degree, the conclusion that Jesus had no thought of establishing a Church. And they are representative of many other works which contain the same outlook. Therefore, considerable force has been exerted to remove the rock from Matthew's gospel and the will of Jesus from the subsequent community gathered in his name.

The subject of Jesus' intention for the community of his followers has not been one vigorously pursued by New Testament scholars. It has certainly been considered by many, for example G.S. Duncan in Jesus Son of Man and J.W. Bowman in The Intention of Jesus have given some space to it. However, Flew's Jesus and His Church remains the only full-scale investigation of the question in English. There has been some-

what more consideration of the problem in non-English writings as is reflected by E. Schweizer's book to which reference has already been made. He cites the writings of W. G. Kümmel, A. Oepke, and N.A. Dahl. However, even in Schweizer's work the idea of Jesus' conception of the Church is not given an extensive treatment(13 pages). As will be noted in another chapter, he does still manage to summarize the negative position in a very comprehensive fashion.

There appears to be a need to set up a procedure by which the whole of the synoptic material can be examined in its relationship to this topic. This attempt may be complicated by the implications of the following quote. "The question whether Jesus himself founded the Church is really the question concerning his Messiahship."¹ On this basis the matter could get quite out of hand as individual Christologies are almost as common as individual finger-prints among students of the New Testament. But it appears that an investigation of the problem is possible without having to decide about all of the Christological titles and the attributing of these to Jesus' own self-consciousness. Certainly it would be expected that if Jesus intended to found a new community he would have acted in a "Messianic manner". The question of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus will not be the all important one, and only the discussion of the Son of Man will be a direct investigation of a Christological title.

There is a characteristic of much writing about primitive Christianity and the birth of the Church which points to the impact of the negative answer in regard to Jesus' intention. Many works on the subject give such a cursory treatment to the problem that it is assumed to be solved or not necessary. Thus R. Bultmann in his massive works on early Christianity, almost ignores the question.² Of course in the case of

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1. K. L. Schmidt, The Church (trans. from TWNT), page 41.
2. R. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 10 and Primitive Christianity, page 91.

Bultmann this is understandable since he has no over-powering interest in the Jesus of history. Also, H. Lietzmann, thoroughly discussing Jesus' life in the book significantly titled The Beginnings of the Christian Church, does not seek positively to relate Jesus of Nazareth to the founding of the community. But of the post-Resurrection disciples he says: "May we still regard them as the⁴ real founders and the recognized authorities of the Church? Most certainly..."³ The same might be said of some of the "lives" of Jesus which also avoid the question, as well as Christologies lacking detailed ecclesiologies.⁴

There will be no attempt to deny the importance of the Resurrection for the existence of the Church. But a meaningful preface to the community of the Resurrection was the community of those gathered about Jesus. It is only by the nature of the existence of the latter that the former will be explained. By the same token an account of the ministry and message of the historical Jesus is not possible except through the mediating assistance of the Church. Therefore, a "history" of Jesus should take into account the community which he produced and as far as possible why it was formed. Schlatter reveals the union between Jesus and the post-Resurrection community.

The Event of Easter took place within the circle of Jesus' companions...The apostles' new religious activities were never meant to be a substitute for their former experience. Rather the Event of Easter was a confirmation of all that Jesus had imparted to them during their discipleship. 5

It is hoped that the new quest of the historical Jesus may lead to a fresh discussion of the relationship between Jesus and the community which proclaimed him Lord. This seems an inevitable question for

3. Hans Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church, page 84.

4. e.g. A. C. Headlam, The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ; M. Goguel, The Life of Jesus, O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament.

5. Adolf Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period (E. T. by P.P. Levertoff). page 9.

any attempt to relate the kerygma and the historical Jesus. The community of his followers is the only link between the two.

However, despite Schlatter and the hope for the new quest, the question of Jesus' intention for the Church is often not emphasized enough. That this should happen among such writers as mentioned may indicate that the problem of the Church's origin has not been as clearly set in relation to Jesus as would be possible. And it further suggests a lack of appreciation for a thought stated by Loisy.

In the Revue Critique, 1925 (pp. 343-347) the present author wrote as follows: "the part played by myth in the birth of Christianity is more easily determined by the historian than is the part played by Jesus himself. While the Christian religion was not created by myth alone, so certainly, it was not created by Jesus alone; its creator was neither Jesus without the myth, nor the myth without Jesus." 6

The present situation in the discussion has, in part, missed the bearing of the quote, which demands that Jesus must be taken into account with any full consideration of Church origins. A selection of ideas which are basic to the topic will perhaps help to set the problem and show the possibilities for solution.

There are at least six ideas which have received a thorough discussion regarding Jesus' intention for the Church. (i) Jesus, regardless of the question of his Messianic consciousness, gathered a band of followers, which gives some appearance of being a sect. "After all, a group of believers would not have been so easily formed after the death of Jesus had he not gathered round him during his lifetime a sort of confraternity analogous to that which was gathered around John and perpetuated in a sect after the Baptist's death." 7

(ii) The question has been raised that the duty of the Son of Man has made the founding of the Church a necessary part of the earthly

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6. Alfred Loisy, The Birth of the Christian Religion, page 11.

7. Ibid., pages 76-7.

work of Jesus, if he conceived of himself in that manner.

(iii) "The Gospel was the word of God with power, creating faith and thereby creating a community under the Kingly Rule of God."⁸

(iv) The passages from Matthew using the word "church" are widely discussed, but they are not the decisive reference. They appear to have moved into the background for the question of the foundation of the church.

(v) The question of the relationship between Jesus and the belief of the earliest Church has been forced into the open, so that the possibility of explaining the Christian faith must take the historical Jesus into account.⁹

(vi) In view of Jesus' consideration of the Reign of God, the idea of founding a community or a church played no part in his ministry. The Kingdom-Church discussion has often led to a flat denial of the Church being within the intention of Jesus.

To these six ideas, another too general and broad to formulate precisely, may be added. It is the commonly stated belief that Jesus did not found the Church but in some way gave rise to it. Thus, this conception is an alternative between yes and no. Unfortunately the idea quickly loses sight of the significance of Jesus, and it may become a way of avoiding the question. But for the moment, the six ideas listed above will be examined and traced to see how they have been used in relation to the problem, and how they may help to set the problem.

(i) The first point or idea which has been considered raises the question of the nature of the group gathered about Jesus. Is it possible, as F. J. A. Hort suggests, that these disciples did in fact constitute the Ecclesia?¹⁰ Or are they only pupils of a prophet of the Day?¹¹ Neither Hort nor Bultmann draw out fully the implications of this

8. R. N. Flew, Jesus and His Church, page 83-4.

9. Except those who follow Bultmann and not so strangely the Liberal school in seeing an almost complete division between the "religion of Jesus" and the "religion about Jesus".

10. F. J. A. Hort, The Christian Ecclesia, page 17.

11. Bultmann, Theology, I., page 9.

group as it moved about Jesus, lived with him, and grew under his preaching and example.¹² At any rate the group is formed in response to Jesus' preaching and call to follow. And the call to follow is an element as strong as any in the Gospels. One can find in Matthew alone a wealth of such vivid calls: 4:19, 8:22, 9:9, 10:34-39, 16:24, 19:21, and 23:37-39. These passages in which Jesus extends a call to follow may have some bearing on his idea of the Church. They certainly indicate the fact that Jesus gathered together a "band", as Bultmann calls the group. The question is: Do they indicate more? Are they only the cry of the prophet or are they also the words of one who is building up a community which will participate in and serve the Rule of God? One cannot readily dismiss the notion that Jesus' call was not actually to his own person, but to his message. Nor could one overlook the obviously possessive tone of the invitation, with the visual image of Jesus drawing a man to himself.¹³ The best way to answer the question of the significance of the call of Jesus is to observe the reaction of the disciples. "In making this profession of faith, they (i.e. the disciples) (had) already... singled him out from all others, and related themselves to him as his dependents, as expecting everything from him and him alone."¹⁴ "It was not to a life of study that He called them; it was to a life of consecrated action."¹⁵ "Discipleship was not matriculation in a Rabbinical College but apprenticeship to the work of the Kingdom."¹⁶ Dependents, consecrated labourers, and apprentices in the Kingdom are descriptions of the ones responding to the call of Jesus. The call and the acceptance has meant and means to some that the true Church was already present with Jesus of Nazareth.¹⁷ Was the goodly fellowship of

12. See Rudolf Schnackenburg, The Moral Teaching of the New Testament, pages 42-53.

13. See especially Matt. 23:37-39.

14. Johannes Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I., page 39.

15. G. S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, page 210.

16. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, page 240.

17. This may be seen in K. L. Schmidt, Church, page 40 note 1: "Three modern scholars seem to have drawn attention independently to this aspect of the founding of the Church by Jesus Christ." T. Schmidt
(continued on 36)

disciples the Church in the ministry of the earthly Jesus? The question demands a considerable answer, for the idea is firmly fixed that this group must be explained in any thorough consideration of the origins of the Church.

(ii) The "Messianic" consciousness of Jesus enters immediately into the question of the foundation of the Church, especially with an appreciation for the task of the Son of Man. Of course, the unending question of what Jesus thought of himself would have to be completely settled for any full value to be gained from this point. Nevertheless, a significant group of scholars has attached great importance to the fact that the Son of Man has as a duty the gathering of a community, which some would define as a Church. The range of the idea can be shown by its use in two works on the foundation of the Church, namely those by R. N. Flew¹⁸ and K. L. Schmidt.¹⁹

The comprehensive work of R. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man shows in the conclusion to one of its main divisions that Jesus as Son of Man mediated the powers of the Son of Man "...as a private possession to a circle of adherents who came into his train."²⁰ The full implication of the conception is drawn out by E. Stauffer with this statement:

He(i.e. Jesus) took to himself the title of Son of Man, to which, since the days of Daniel and AEn, the concepts of the people

17.(continued from page 35) in Der Lieb Christi(1919) has a section entitled "Analogie von Messias und Gemeinde"(pp. 217ff.) A. Schlatter, Die Geschichte des Christus(1923), page 375, says "The title, Christ, demanded of him that he should bring the perfect community into being." Finally, the deepest insight is shown by Kattenbusch in the Harnack Festgabe(1921), 143,172."Christ has an independent existence, just as each of those who are his, but is only himself in the σωμα; without this he would not be what his name indicated."(145).

18. Flew, Church, especially pages 73-79.

19. Schmidt, Church, pages 40-41.

20. Otto, Kingdom, page 155. See also Cullmann, Christology, page 156 for individual and collective interpretation of the Son of Man.

and the Kingdom of God were inseparably joined. In this sense, at least, Jesus meant to found a church; he gathered the new people of God about himself. 21

(iii) R. N. Flew gives a lengthy discussion to the "Message as Constitutive of the Community", and it proves to be very valuable.²² How far the preaching of Jesus forms a community is a question which demands a thorough examination and fails often to receive what it deserves. The real depreciation of the preaching and teaching of Jesus is accomplished by isolating the message, perhaps even presenting it in great clarity and power, but failing to use any historical investigation to judge what the reaction of the hearer (in the sense of one comprehending) would be. It is necessary to speak of radical decisions, the tension of the moment brought on by the belief in the immediate irruption into the world of the Reign of God. But this alone is not enough. One must ask: But what does the message do to the believer? Does he simply retain old relationships or does this call to decision really mean something new? Does the hearer have a new way of life? Is he cast into a new fellowship? The reaction of the hearers to the message must be carefully sought, otherwise the problem of the relationship between Jesus and the foundation of the Church can never be properly set. Therefore, the message of Jesus, apart from the discipleship sayings, will be investigated, as well as the stated reactions to it.

(iv) The lengthy arguments of Flew to prove the thesis that Jesus did found the "Church" do not depend upon Matthew 16:17f., and the rock passage seems almost to be discussed as something more or less expected but not necessary. Vincent Taylor notices and gladly accepts this attitude taken by Flew.²³ Stauffer further agrees that the origins of the Church are "older than Christianity itself" and such can be shown without "the saying about the rock."²⁴ The opportunity to avoid a discussion of this passage might be very welcome, but that would mean a failure to

21. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, page 30.

22. Flew, Church, pages 80-106.

23. Taylor, The Life and Ministry of Jesus, page 75.

24. Stauffer, Theology, page 30.

completely appreciate Church origins. The passage exists in all its perplexing boldness, and it is the only statement attributed to Jesus in which he declares his intention to establish the ἐκκλησίᾳ. To set the problem properly one must deal with Matthew 16:18, and it cannot be treated as a subject divided from the other suggestions in the Gospels which may speak of Jesus' intention for his followers.

(v) The "Liberal" outlook prominent late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries fostered, because of its basic philosophy, the idea that Jesus and Paul had no connection in thought. The former was the great teacher of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, while the latter was the instigator of a Hellenistic religion using Jesus as his God. The trouble was the liberal inability to comprehend that the sensible Jesus could have believed himself to be Son of Man or predestined Messiah. God simply did not choose to enter into a progressively better history. Now it remains fashionable among some once again to sever the connection between Jesus and Paul. How is this done? Simply by maintaining that Paul confessed he had no interest in Jesus after the flesh. But, such an assertion cannot be taken if the truth of the situation is to be realized.²⁵ "The existence of a Christian community was no negligible factor in his (Paul's) conversion and influenced the formation of his thought as a Christian. It led him, instead of founding a new religion on the basis of his revelations, to give his loyalty to a religion which was already in existence."²⁶ C.H. Dodd's essay on apostolic preaching has as one of its main implications the unity of the New Testament proclamation.²⁷ But, beyond this the work of Cullmann has shown that a solid argument can be made for deciding that the early Church not only contained the basis for the later doctrinal developments, but it received its thought from Jesus.²⁸ It is not possible to maintain a hard and fast line between the religion of Jesus and the religion about Jesus. The former must lead in some positive

25. Goguel, Jesus, pages 119-127 and The Birth of Christianity, pages 247-48; J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, pages 452-56.

26. Goguel, Birth, page 287.

27. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments.

28. Cullmann, Christology especially "Jesus the Son of Man", and "Jesus the Lord".

way to the latter. No one has yet adequately explained how the belief in the resurrection of a person in the ancient Jewish world would lead to the assumption that the one risen from the dead was the Christ or to the confession "Lord come",²⁹ or to a community worshipping a saviour.³⁰ This is especially so when there were rumors of the resurrection of John already circulating. The need for an adequate description of Christian origins had been made necessary by a growing emphasis upon the unity of the New Testament and by a distrust for the explanation that the resurrection faith alone gave rise to the Church. Therefore, the early Church will be examined to see if its existence is continuous with Jesus of Nazareth. That is the question: Does the Church, in its main essence, come into being as a result of Jesus' purposeful activity, or is it simply the result of other powerful forces, such as the resurrection?

- (vi) The church is a result of his(Jesus') activity but he neither founded it directly himself nor entrusted its foundation to a solitary individual...Jesus did not foresee the church. He proclaimed his return in glory to establish the Kingdom of God and he believed his return was so near that he gave no instructions to his disciples concerning the interval, which had to elapse until he returned. To quote Loisy's epigrammatic phrase "He proclaimed the Kingdom of God and the Church was the outcome." 31

In the view of strong support given this position, it must be taken as a possibility for explaining Jesus' relationship to the origins of the Church.³² However, the real question in the discussion of such a

29. Cullmann, Christology, pages 195, 234.

30. Otto, Kingdom, page 159.

31. Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, page 3.

32. See: E. F. Scott, The Kingdom and the Messiah, pages 106-8 and The Beginnings of the Church, pages 50-56; P.G.S. Hopwood, Religious Experience, pages 100-101; Goguel, Birth, page 3. Others who oppose the Church in the intention of Jesus on the same grounds are J. Weiss, E. Klostermann, Das Matthäusevangelium; B. S. Easton, Early Christianity; M. Dibelius; G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth.

theory is whether Church and Kingdom are mutually exclusive ideas. In fact some have argued for the foundation of the Church in the intention of Jesus precisely because of the eschatological emphasis of his preaching.³³ At any rate, the negative theory must be considered in any effort to see the problem.

The course in any argument holding that Jesus instituted the Church has been partially plotted by six ideas listed above. The outline to be followed in discussing these ideas will be:

- I. Matthew 16:17f. and a tentative definition of ἐκκλησίᾳ.
- II. The Son of Man
- III. The Discipleship Sayings
- IV. The Message of Jesus and the Reaction to It
- V. The Kingdom and the Church
- VI. The Earliest Community and Its Relationship to Jesus
- VII. An Examination of the Denial of Jesus' Intention for the Church
- VIII. Concluding Definition of ἐκκλησίᾳ in Light of Jesus' Intention

33. Flew, Church, pages 59-79. See Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, where he takes Matt. 16:18 as genuine, but he interprets it in an absolutely eschatological manner.

CHAPTER III

MATTHEW 16:17-19 AND A TENTATIVE DEFINITION OF ECCLESIA

The most striking thing about these verses is their amazing durability. They certainly have provoked unending discussions within Protestantism, where the debate has centered more on authenticity than meaning. Catholic-Protestant dialogues, if they can really be so called, have on the other hand considered the significance. However, despite the abundance of material on the verses, there are not many different ideas involved. The discussion, therefore, can never travel very far before it has returned to the starting point.¹

It can hardly be doubted that the question of the papacy has given the verse its primary importance. Had not official Roman Christendom used the verse(18) to justify and proof-text the superiority of the Roman bishop, the verse would neither have been so controversial nor so important. The whole discussion has been affected by the papal problem. "The interpretation of Matthew 16:17ff., like the discussion of the historical question concerning the stay of Peter in Rome, has been blurred all too often by confessional prejudices."² There are more factors than confessional prejudices at work. Because the verse stands in proximity with a Messianic confession, there are many scholars who may have a tendency to dismiss its prospects of authenticity. Not only does it stand in the midst of the papal controversy and in close connection with the slippery problem of

1. The complete bibliography seems to be available in references in Cullmann, Peter, Disciple-Apostle-Martyr, pages 155-238, where surely every bit of information on the subject has been used. Other lists can be found in Schmidt, The Church, page xii, and Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, pages 406-7 appendix to note 2 from page 140.

2. Cullmann, Peter, page 158.

Jesus' Messianic consciousness, the section precipitates the Kingdom versus Church discussion. Because of the convergence of all these factors it hardly would seem possible for the verses to escape the prejudging of its interpreters.

Although it is an injustice to move these sore verse again, some considerations about them are fundamental for the question under discussion. This is so because only in them is there an indisputable reference to the founding of the Church in the intention of Jesus. x

The first point to be considered deals with the location of the verses in their present framework. Matthew 16:13-20 equals Mark 8:27-33 with the exception that Matthew adds the non-paralleled verses 17-19. What is to be made of Matthew's narrative?

In view of the general acceptance of Mark as the more original of the two Gospels, it would be almost immediately assumed that the verses were interpolated into this context by Matthew. Not so Bultmann: "I think that the original conclusion has been retained in Matt. 16:17-19. Mark has dispensed with it, and has on top of that introduced a polemic against the Jewish-Christian point of view represented by Peter from the sphere of the Hellenistic christianity of the Pauline circle."³ There is little support for Bultmann's position. In fact one of the arguments frequently used against the authenticity of the verses is that the tradition is known only to Matthew.⁴

However, Bultmann has considerable aid for the suggestion that this is a post-resurrection statement. Many scholars, as will be noted below, do not find the verse compatible with the earthly Jesus.⁵ If it was a post-resurrection saying, then, for theological reasons, Bultmann suggests that Matthew has the more original ending.

...it is doubtless the risen Lord who speaks in Matthew 16:17-19; and if the supposition be correct, that Matt. 16:17-19 is the original conclusion to

3. Bultmann, History, page 258. Same conclusion reached by Schlatter and Michaelis.

4. Cullmann, Peter, page 173, gives other reasons for rejecting Bultmann's position.

5. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 214, note 10, suspects that even the name "Peter" was only applied to Simon after the resurrection.

the story of the Confession, that but expresses the view that Peter's experience of Easter was the time when the early Church's messianic faith was born. 6

The argument of Bultmann has not gained wide acceptance. But others, agreeing with the supposition that the statement has its origin in the post-resurrection community, give other explanations of Matthew's theological motives. Bornkamm raises the question of why Matthew would put the statement in the context of both a Messianic confession and the prophecy of suffering, which contains a severe rebuke for Peter because he rejects suffering as a possibility for Jesus. The answer is: "The Church after Easter with its life and the office of the keys sanctioned by Jesus, is thus subjected to the law of the life and suffering of the earthly Jesus."⁷

Although Bornkamm and Bultmann disagree concerning the originality of the saying in Mark and Matthew, they do agree that the statement is post-resurrection and put into its place by either Matthew or his source for theological reasons.

Cullmann, like Bornkamm, notices the tension in the passage between the condemning of Peter and the founding of the Church upon him. He also favours the Markan story as being the complete one into which, for reasons of content, Matthew has interpolated the Church saying.⁸ Cullmann does not agree that it is a resurrection saying, and he sees it in connection with the passion prediction of the denial of Jesus by Peter. But he does not think that the theory of the original setting which he puts forward is of prime significance in regard to the authenticity of the verse.⁹

There are then several alternatives about the setting of the verses: Mark has excluded them from their proper place(Bultmann); Matthew has interpolated them into the present context for theological considerations(Bornkamm, Cullmann); they are to be regarded as post-resurrection statements

6. Bultmann, History, page 259.

7. Bornkamm, et. al., Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, page 48.

8. See Cullmann, Peter, pages 170f.

9. Ibid., page 184.

(Bultmann, Bornkamm, Stauffer, Montefiore, Loisy); it is part of the Passion narrative (Cullmann). About the only significant point rising from the discussion of the setting is that it serves to introduce the question of authenticity. "We have to reckon with the possibility of an interpolation drawn from an otherwise unknown genuine tradition, whose value is to be tested quite apart from its present setting."¹⁰ The three summary opinions noted above were given to show that the question of the authenticity of the verses is in no vital way connected with the authenticity of the setting. For example, Bultmann sees Matthew's setting as more original than Mark's, but he will not accept the verses as genuine. Cullmann sees the setting as not being authentic, but he will accept that the verses are the words of Jesus. The real question about setting is not where Matthew has placed the logion, but whether it is a pre-resurrection or a post-resurrection statement. This then raises the further question of authenticity. However, before discussing the arguments for and against genuineness, mention should be made of the possible interpretation of the meaning of the verses, as it has some bearing on the authenticity discussion.

There is some general consensus about the meaning of the verses, that is within Protestant scholarship, but probably not in the Protestant-Roman dialogue. Even when Protestants disagree over the position of Peter in this statement, they seem eventually to agree against the Catholic position. Luther, following Augustine, thwarted the power of Peter's "successors" in Rome by suggesting that the "Rock" in the passage was not Peter, but Christ himself, who is the true foundation of the Church. This certainly seems to be co-existent with Paul's belief that no other foundation can be laid than that which is laid, namely Christ. And the Corinthian correspondence revealed the Pauline typology which suggested that the rock in the wilderness was Christ. However, if this is valid theologically, it is more difficult to maintain linguistically. The parallelism is too obvious:

καὶ γὰρ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι σὺ εἶ πέτρος . (kepha)
καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ . (kepha)

10. Schmidt, The Church, page 37.

The rock seems to be Peter in some direct sense. The usual interpretation then reckons that the faith of Peter is the foundation. This is commonly found in Protestant commentaries on Matthew. P. A. Micklem, who agrees that the Church was to be founded on Peter, insists that it is only in the sense that Peter "is confessing Christ and as representing in this act the whole Apostolic body."¹¹ Where the Protestant interpretation finally cuts through certain "confessional prejudices" and admits that the statement is directed toward Peter without qualification, then there are other reservations.

It is the risen Lord, and not the earthly Jesus, who builds the Church. Even then it is Peter-and only-Peter who executes Jesus' command. There is no mention of a successor or line of successors such as the Roman popes. 12

Still when Protestant scholarship accepts that the word of foundation is directed toward Peter, then another problem arises. What does the saying then mean in regard to the authority of the disciple? Micklem gives the most extreme interpretation that seems possible from the Protestant view.

The power of the keys then would imply supreme authority to admit or exclude from it. In the present passage the sphere of which Peter is to have the keys is described as the kingdom of heaven: not here perhaps to be sharply distinguished from the ecclesia and implying like it the sphere of Messiah's reign on earth. The scribes and Pharisees were the traditional key-holders of this kingdom, but they had made a wrongful use of their authority...It is then Peter who primarily will declare the terms of admission to Messiah's kingdom and exercise disciplinary authority within it. 13

Before commenting on the justification for this interpretation it should be noted that it will have serious implications for the question of authenticity. Even Flew, who certainly could use this verse to support

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11. P. A. Micklem, St. Matthew, page 166; T. H. Robinson, The Gospel of Matthew, page 141; Filson, Matthew, page 187.
12. Gerhard Gloege, The Day of His Coming, page 244.
13. Micklem, St. Matthew, page 167.

his own position feels forced to say: "If the power of the keys implies such absolute administrative authority, the promise cannot be authentic."¹⁴ Those who oppose the authenticity of the verse will not hesitate to do two things with this same interpretation. Like Flew, they will argue that such a promise so interpreted cannot be authentic. Yet in addition to Flew's position, they will simply add that the interpretation given to the verse by Micklem and others is the correct one. Therefore, the verse cannot be authentic. In this instance the question of interpretation and meaning is very significant for the question of authenticity.

Is Micklem's interpretation the correct one? That there is a rabbinic parallel seems to be universally accepted. Binding and loosing was a rabbinic phrase to declare what was lawful and unlawful.¹⁵ On this basis then it is quite possible to agree with Micklem that the scribes and Pharisees were the traditional holders of the keys of the kingdom. And by applying these terms to Peter, Jesus obviously accorded him some authority in doctrinal and disciplinary matters.¹⁶ This means two things.

First, as was the case with the rabbis, Peter is given the authority to teach what is forbidden and what is permitted.¹⁷ The second implication must be seen in connection with the promise of the keys of the kingdom. And the keys imply the power to ban or accept persons into the building which is being built. That is Peter will have an authority which will be recognized as valid at the Last Judgement.¹⁸

...the power to teach and to discipline cannot be sharply separated. Peter thus receives a share in the authority of Christ to forgive sins. To the functions that had been committed to the disciples even in the lifetime of Jesus...there is now added this highest office of forgiving sins, an office that Christ alone controls but commits also to Peter with a view to establishing the earthly people of God. 19

14. Flew, Church, page 131

15. Micklem, St. Matthew, page 167; M'Neile, Matthew, page 243; Filson, Matthew, page 187.

16. Bultmann, History, page 138.

17. Filson, Matthew, page 187.

18. Cullmann, Peter, page 204, Bornkamm, Jesus, pages 186f.

19. Cullmann, Peter, page 205.

It seems rather difficult to disagree with the conclusion that Peter is given authority of interpretation. He also is given another privilege or task by which he will be able to relate a person to the kingdom of heaven. If this means that the Church is bound up with the "monarchical office" of Peter, there are then great restrictions on its authenticity.²⁰ However, there are certain factors which mediate against the assumption that Peter was ever intended, either by Matthew or the original saying, to exercise exclusive kingly powers.

The prime factor is Matthew 18:18f.

'I tell you this: whatever you forbid on earth shall be forbidden in heaven, and whatever you allow on earth shall be allowed in heaven.

'Again I tell you this: if two of you agree on earth about any request you have to make, that request will be granted by my heavenly Father. For where two or three have met together in my name, I am there among them' (NEB). 21

Matthew's gospel also contains the conclusion that the principle of ministry was the determining factor for authority.

'Among you, whoever wants to be great must be your servant, and whoever would be first must be the willing slave of all...' (NEB, Matt. 20:27) 22

It is indeed a strange monarchy which is pluralistic. And authority among Jesus' own is explicitly attached to the principle of ministry in conscious distinction to the Gentile rulers who lord it over their subjects.

That Peter should be referred to in a special way may simply be a reflection of the historical fact that he was the spokesman and leader of the disciples within the ministry of Jesus. However, it may be an overstatement to put too much emphasis upon the powers given to Peter. After all he is given no more authority than that already possessed by the rabbis. The parallels are strictly based on the rabbinic powers of binding and loosing and the holding of the keys of the kingdom. Further, these powers given to Peter are also promised to all the disciples. Therefore, it seems possible to stress on the one hand that Jesus is giving Peter

20. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 187.

21. Filson, Matthew, page 187; Cullmann, Peter, page 205 refer also to these verses.

22. Flew, Church, page 132, makes the same point in regard to Mark 10:42-3.

unusual authority of interpretation and of admission into the Kingdom. Yet on the other hand these same things are promised to all the disciples. The real question has to be: "Does Jesus in his ministry envisage the need for a new interpretation of Law, and is the "possession" of the Kingdom intimately related to his own ministry in which the disciples participate?" If this may be answered affirmatively then the verse could well have **come from his ministry. If on the other hand there should be no evidence of a new law, the presence of the Kingdom in relation to Jesus, and the disciples participation in these things, then the saying must be rejected as part of the ministry of Jesus.**

The meaning of ἐκκλησία will be discussed in connection with the arguments against authenticity, which is of course the seemingly vital consideration about these verses. The main support for their genuineness is the early Palestinian origin. This is almost universally accepted.²³ The central argument is that Πέτρος to Πέτρο is too awkward a change of gender to have originated in Greek, while the kepha of the Aramaic fits the context quite well. Cullmann summarizes the other reasons.

The Semitic character is confirmed by various other observations: the designation of the father of Peter as bar-yona; the expression "flesh and blood" for men; the word pair "bind and loose"; then also the strophic rhythm...which is found similarly in other sayings of Jesus...and further the illustration of the rock as foundation, to which there is an exact parallel in the rabbinical literature, where Abraham is mentioned as the rock of the world. 24

Therefore, the verses, to be judged authentic or not, are of very early Palestinian origin. As might be expected this conclusion has not really made considerable difference to the question of authenticity. It has kept down the charge of Hellenistic composition, but the authenticity of the verse still depends upon its relationship to the remainder of Jesus' ministry. All the substantial arguments against it being a word of Jesus are based upon the supposition that it is incompatible with the remainder

23. Cullmann, Peter, page 185; Bornkamm, Jesus, page 186; Bultmann, History, pages 138-9.

24. Cullmann, Peter, pages 185-6.

of Jesus' message and ministry. Therefore, from the outset, it is clear that the decision about authenticity can never be decided apart from the bulk of the synoptic material. The chief purpose for the review of the arguments concerning authenticity is not to decide that question but to see how the discussion points to the questions which must be answered in the whole of Jesus' ministry. After all, the isolated nature of the verses demands that they be given a fuller context.

The arguments against genuineness may be summarized in three points as Filson lists them. However, to be sure of covering the subject well, the five arguments listed by T. W. Manson will be reviewed.²⁵

(i) The verse has no parallel in the synoptic gospels. The significance of this argument is enhanced by the fact that the author of Luke-Acts uses ἐκκλησίᾳ frequently in Acts but never in the Gospel. Therefore, it is concluded that the verse reflects a time after the ministry of Jesus.²⁶ A great difficulty is presented by its absence from Mark, and "especially if we believe that Mark derived his information from Peter."²⁷ On the face of it this is a very decisive argument. However, there are factors which may very well take away some of its significance.

a) I Peter and the Gospel of John both lack the word ἐκκλησίᾳ, but they contain the idea.²⁸ In these writings there are synonyms for ἐκκλησίᾳ, making the use of the actual word unnecessary.

b) Of course the prior argument raises the question of synonyms in the Synoptics. Does Jesus intend a community which may subsequently be synonymous with "Church"? Or to put the question in another way: Is ἐκκλησίᾳ an appropriate term with which to describe the community which Jesus intends? If the question may be answered negatively then the verses are obviously not authentic.²⁹

c) If this statistical argument is to be pursued then there is a great body of synoptic material, known only to Matthew or Luke, which must

25. T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, pages 494f.

26. Ibid.

27. A. W. Argyle, The Gospel According to Matthew, page 125.

28. Cullmann, Peter, page 187; Schmidt, Church, page 38.

29. See O. Linton, Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung, pages 175f.

be counted as not authentic on the same ground.³⁰

Despite these replies to the first criticism, one would hesitate to agree with Gloege in setting the proposition that "...the uniqueness of the text speaks for rather than against its authenticity."³¹ This argument and the replies to it do not substantially support either the authenticity of the verses or their lack of it. What the discussion does is to emphasize two especially important considerations.

First, if a verse is unique and seems to stand alone in the tradition, an attempt must be made to see if it relates to other ideas which may be expressed in quite different wording.

Second, Matthew 16:17-19 cannot, therefore, be isolated from the remainder of the synoptic material. Its very "isolated" nature asks the question if there may be justification for its inclusion in the tradition. No answer may be given to Matthew 16:17-19 on purely statistical ground. In this sense the statistical argument does not answer the question of genuineness, it raises that enquiry.

(ii) "Jesus and His followers expect the coming of the Kingdom. Therefore, it is contended, Jesus cannot have founded a Church in the ordinary sense of the word, an institution which was to continue for centuries..."³² This may possibly be the strongest argument against the authenticity of the verses. But, the effectiveness of the argument depends upon two considerations.

The first consideration, which reveals the main strength of the argument, concerns the extent to which institutional forms are to be read out of these verses.

The Church would now appear to have arrived at a stage of institutionalism, properly belonging to an epoch considerably later than the Resurrection, in which both office and order have become very important for it--the monarchichal office of a particular apostle, and the order associated with the vesting of ecclesiastical authority in the community

30. See John Oman, The Church and the Divine Order, pages 24-5.

31. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, page 243.

32. Manson, Sayings, page 494; also Bultmann, History, page 140, Bornkamm Jesus, page 187. See Kümmel who strives to keep Church and Kingdom separate: Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus, pages 27ff.

over doctrinal and legal matters...The genuineness of the saying of Matthew 16:17-19 is consequently open to great doubt. 33

The more strongly the institutional forms are stressed the more likely it becomes that the verses may be regarded as not authentic. There are several replies to this point of view. Cullmann questions the presuppositions of those who interpret the verses in the above manner. "They assume it to be self-evident that the word 'Church' can only designate an organized Church in the later sense."³⁴ Schnackenburg, pursuing the same line, does not see the implications of a highly institutionalized Church in the verses. "We have to remember that for Jesus 'his community' simply referred to the people of God that he was preparing for the kingdom to come."³⁵ There may be a possibility that an investigation of the synoptic material will reveal a community-intention in the ministry of Jesus. This same intention may give an adequate definition to ἐκκλησία and show how, in the light of the Kingdom, Peter and the other disciples would in the future be expected to be Jesus' spokesmen and possess certain of the powers of the Kingdom. It is indisputable that they did preach the word of the Kingdom and in some sense manifest its healing and redemptive powers. On this basis one might not be required to look to an "epoch considerably later than the Resurrection" to define ἐκκλησία. Nonetheless, this is a most pressing reason for doubting the genuineness of the saying. It undoubtedly demands that there be sufficient evidence of a community in the ministry of Jesus to adequately justify this logion.³⁶

The second consideration is also of significance for the line of investigation. It is the statement to which repeated reference will have to be made. Kingdom and Church are not necessarily mutually exclusive terms. Unless they are proved to exclude each other then this criticism begs the question and in no sense answers it.

33. Hugh Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, page 250.

34. Cullmann, Peter, page 187.

35. Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Reign, page 226.

36. There is a linguistic indication of a very early origin of the verses which tends to rule out the assumption that the verses arose at a time much later than the Resurrection. Dultmann, for example, uses the verses to support the contention that the earliest Church regarded itself as the Congregation of the end time. Theology, I, page 37.

So once again a criticism of the authenticity of the verse raises a fundamental question rather than giving an undeniable answer. It suggests that the relationship between Kingdom and Church must be established. The weakness of the argument may be its tendency to read back into Matthew a definition which may not have been applicable. Here again the question is raised concerning the existence of a community in the ministry of Jesus which could lead to and explain the fully developed and institutional Church.

(iii) Peter did not have an authoritative position in the early Church (Acts 11:2ff. and Gal. 2:11). "There is no satisfactory answer to this objection."³⁷ This may be called the historical argument, and it shows the inevitable connection between the early Church and the ministry of Jesus. Of course Manson is too confident about the argument. One might just as easily argue that if Peter did not fulfill the expectations about him, a Church had certainly been built. It seems as though the existence of the Church would testify just as strongly to the authenticity of the verses as Peter's lack of authority would testify to the lack of authenticity.

There is also the point of view which holds that Peter did exercise considerable authority in the early Church. The whole question of the nature of the early Church will be dealt with, and in that context this argument will be answered. Nonetheless, it seems as though the argument does reveal a trace of "confessional prejudice". And it hardly appears to be sufficient grounds for the dismissal of the verses.

Another question about the argument concerns the unfulfilled prophecy. Why should the writer of Matthew attribute to Jesus a prophecy which was never fulfilled? "The theory of a prediction after the event comes to grief on the fact that the 'event' for Peter is very different from what might have been expected from Matt. xvi, 18. We may therefore accept the disputed text as genuine on the principle of preferring the harder reading."³⁸

The arguments given above show that Manson's contention may just as easily be turned round to argue in the opposite direction.

37. Manson, Sayings, page 495.

38. Schmidt, Church, page 44.

(iv) "Rock" is an unsuitable description for the unstable character of Peter.³⁹ This may be called the psychological argument, and it is particularly unsuitable and unnecessary. It is only mentioned because it has some degree of acceptance. It is unnecessary and unsuitable for at least two reasons.

First, the Church is in existence because of the grace of God, not because of man's stability. Peter is called blessed not because of who he is but for the plain reason that God has revealed to him the true knowledge of Jesus.

Second, twenty centuries is rather a far distance from which to make such a profound psychological judgement about a person. The distance may not be aided by the sources from which the judgement is made.

(v) The fifth argument, which is really stretched out of the third and fourth ones, holds that the priority of the disciples is inconsistent with other sayings of Jesus (Matt. 19:28, Mark 10:35-45, Matt. 20:1-16). The last reference is to the parable of the vineyard, which as a parable of the Kingdom is not concerned with discipleship at all. It is a reference to the kindness of the Father. The other verses are off set by the fact that the synoptic material reveals that some of the disciples were of particular significance. This may be seen in the following events: Peter is the first of the disciples called; Peter, with James and John, is called to accompany Jesus to the mount of Transfiguration and into the garden of Gethsemane. Above all Peter is the spokesman of the group. He confesses that Jesus is the Christ.

There are in summary only two arguments which carry any weight at all against the authenticity of Matthew 16:17-19. The first of these arguments, stated most effectively, is that ἐκκλησία, either directly or by synonymous idea, is not found in the ministry of Jesus. The second argument is that Jesus was a preacher of the Kingdom, expecting the end of the world in its present form, therefore he could not have considered the possibility of the Church.

39. Manson, Sayings, page 495.

The arguments reinforce the necessity of the lines of investigation given in the previous chapter. They confirm the need for seeing Jesus in relation to the early Church. They do not and cannot settle the question of authenticity nor the meaning of the verses. That must be determined on the basis of the ministry of Jesus and the nature of the early Church. The isolated logion cannot reveal either its own meaning or its own authenticity. It is rather authenticated and interpreted by the synoptic tradition and the apostolic Church. Even after these areas have been investigated, the most one could say is that the verses are justified or not justified as a part of the tradition of the words of Jesus. In fact the purpose of the entire paper is to decide about the justification for such a verse as Matthew 16:18.

In the light of the difficulties caused by the word ἐκκλησιᾶ an attempt should be made to give it a tentative definition. The word has a frequent usage in the LXX where it is equivalent to the Hebrew word gahal in most every case.⁴⁰ The word does not necessarily have a technical sense, and its simple meaning is a "gathering".⁴¹ When, however, it is combined with a genitive, such as κυρίου, then the technical sense of "People of God" emerges.⁴² "There are also passages in which ἐκκλησιᾶ, standing by itself, means the congregation of God."⁴³ Other Hebrew and Aramaic words may be translated by ἐκκλησιᾶ or perhaps even συναγωγῇ, but the still dominant reference is to Israel as the people of God.⁴⁴

There are several words which may stand behind ἐκκλησιᾶ as it occurs in Matthew 16:18. Schmidt argues for the Aramaic word kēnisha', on the basis that it is the most common equivalent for ἐκκλησιᾶ in the Targums, where it is of greater significance because it also translates συναγωγῇ. He would, on this basis, argue for a more confined fellowship, closely defined by "locality, membership or constitution".⁴⁵ This means ἐκκλησιᾶ is to be used in a separatist or "remnant" sense, which Schmidt points out has several parallels. He states the significance of the position as follows.

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40. Schmidt, Church, page 51. 41. Ibid.
 42. Cullmann, Peter, pages 187-8.
 43. Schmidt, Church, page 52.
 44. Cullmann, Peter, pages 187-8.
 45. Schmidt, Church, page 48.

The idea of the qahal Yahwe was not only not given up; it acquired a special significance, for such a group constituted the "Remnant", on which Israel's standing as the people of God depended. Thus the Church of God was embodied in the synagogue of Jesus the Messiah. In this seeming paradox of a part representing the whole lies the secret of the genuine synagogue and of the genuine congregation of Jesus Christ. The famous founding of the ἐκκλησία by Jesus simply means this combined separation and concentration of his band of disciples (Matt. xvi, 18). 46

Bultmann rejects this possibility for two very sound reasons. First, the Old Testament (LXX) relationship between qahal and ἐκκλησία is very strong. Second, the content of ἐκκλησία corresponds to qahal (People of God). 47 The question of the exact word behind ἐκκλησία probably cannot be settled, and it may be unimportant. The content of the word is the decisive matter, and it is undoubtedly based upon "people of God" from which thought it gains definition. 48

The meaning of "Church" in the primitive community was also the people or congregation of God. It regarded itself as Israel, qualified by such terms as fulfilled, true, or new. 49

Any tentative definition of ἐκκλησία must be based upon "people or congregation of God". With certain qualifications, ἐκκλησία in the New Testament may be equivalent to people of God. There are two important qualifications of this definition. First, in the New Testament, this is an eschatological congregation, as the titles "the chosen", "the elect", and "the saints" reveal. 50 They were already participating in a new order, which marked the final era. 51 Therefore, the Church is the congregation of the new order, the end time.

The second qualification is that the eschatological significance of the congregation is due to the activity of God in Jesus' life, death, and resurrection.

46. Schmidt, Church, pages 49-50. 47. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 38.

48. Cullmann, Peter, page 188.

49. See Schnackenburg, Church in the N.T., pages 56-62; Schweitzer, Church Order, pages 34-6; Bultmann, Theology, I, pages 37-9; Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, pages 4-7; Flew, Church, pages 140-3.

50. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 38. 51. Flew, Church, pages 142-3.

This was the substance of her faith, confirmed into certainty, with which the Church began. United with her heavenly Lord and ruled by him, she knew herself freed from guilt, empowered to victory over evil, called to gather a community of forgiven sinners. Thus the Church knew herself to be God's own possession, the Communion of Saints. 52

Therefore, for the congregation, Jesus is to be confessed as Lord since God through him has gathered or called out the congregation.

Thus we may define Church as that eschatological congregation or people of God, gathered by the salvific activity of God in Jesus, for whom Jesus is the Lord and the Lord is Jesus.

Now we may ask the important question: Is Jesus gathering the people who participate in the eschatological blessing of God? If the synoptic Gospels contain an affirmative answer then Matthew 16:17-19, exact words of Jesus or not, is justified as a reflection of his intention.

52. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, page 7.

CHAPTER IV

THE SON OF MAN

There is a very good reason for the examination of Son of Man as a Christological title, even in the face of the general reluctance to talk about the Messianic consciousness of Jesus.

...if the title Messiah were assigned to Jesus by the community after the Resurrection without there being any suggestion whatever of a "Messianic claim" in his ministry and message, we would be forced into an extreme Judaic theory of Christian origins which by-passed the creative significance for the Church of the person and history of Jesus, and which destroyed any real continuity between Jesus of Nazareth and the Church's kerygma. To say the least, "title research" has not ended. For we must continue to ask, on the basis of the Gospel tradition of Jesus' earthly ministry, what there was in it that could have led the Church to ascribe to him Messianic titles and dignities. 1

Certainly the Messianic titles hold open a chance for understanding the relationship between the historical Jesus and the kerygma of the Church. Of all the titles, Son of Man is probably the most likely to yield results concerning the beginning of the Church in the ministry of Jesus. In British scholarship this is most probably due to the theory of T. W. Manson concerning the corporate meaning of the term.² He held that Son of Man in the Gospels is not an isolated term; it stands in direct line with several conceptions: Remnant (Isaiah), Servant of Jehovah (II Isaiah), the "I" of the Psalms, Son of Man (Daniel). Its relationship to these developing ideas allows for the definition: "...the Son of Man is...an ideal figure and stands for the manifestation of the Kingdom of God on earth in a people wholly devoted to their heavenly King."³ The immediate problem raised by the definition is the transition from this corporate conception to the application

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1. Hugh Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, pages 162-3.
 2. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, pages 211-36.
 3. Ibid., page 227.

to one individual, Jesus. This Manson explains as a result of events in the ministry of Jesus, who preached and taught in a public ministry. This ministry had little response and Jesus tightened his interest and field of endeavour by consolidating his disciples. This also failed, so that at last he was the only one to give "the perfect human response to the regal claims of God."⁴

Manson assumes that Enoch and IV Ezra, as sources for Son of Man, along with Daniel, may be weak links in his argument. He makes an indecisive case for a possible corporate interpretation of the term in these documents, and as V. Taylor shows, the argument will not stand.⁵ From Manson's point of view it is not a destructive loss because for him Jesus looked to Daniel, not to Enoch or elsewhere, for his reference to the Son of Man. However, by securing his argument solely upon Daniel, Manson is open to a most penetrating question: "Is it likely...that Daniel's similitude...is by itself an adequate explanation of a concept which so thoroughly dominated the outlook and teaching of Jesus?"⁶

For Manson, the strength or weakness of his position finally lies with its ability to explain the use of Son of Man in the Gospels. In order to test the theory he takes those Son of Man sayings which deal with the Passion. These predictions correspond to the demands for suffering which Jesus placed on his disciples, especially as he saw them participating in his baptism and in the drinking of his cup. This seems to be the strong point of his argument. J. A. T. Robinson sees this as a very great support for Manson's position.⁷ Eduard Schweizer, who argues vigorously against remnant or closed society ideas in Jesus' ministry, gives aid to Manson's position when he says of Jesus: "He did everything to attain no success, no growth, and no fortifying of the Church, but to allow himself and his followers to be broken in pieces for the world."⁸

The position of K. L. Schmidt, R. N. Flew, and H. E. Tödt will be ex-

4. Manson, Teaching, page 228.

5. V. Taylor, The Names of Jesus, pages 31f.

6. G. S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, page 143.

7. J. A. T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, page 90.

8. E. Schweizer, Church Order, page 33.

amined in relation to Manson's theory. They are representative of possible reactions to the corporate explanation of the Son of Man.

Schmidt so nearly parallels Manson that there is no need to examine his whole argument. "For the Son of Man in Daniel is not a mere individual: he is ^{the} representative of 'the people of the saints of the Most High' and has set himself the task of making this people of God, the ἐκκλησίαν a reality."⁹ Schmidt applies the result of this conclusion about the nature of the Son of Man directly to the Church. He augments his point by showing that in substantial agreement with him are Schlatter, Kattenbusch, Gloege, and Linton.

Flew, like Schmidt, reviews the corporate theory as it was expressed by Kattenbusch, who felt that Jesus took Son of Man as a personal designation from Daniel. Manson, according to Flew, gave this idea a more radical expression, and he has some reservations about its validity. His first negative reaction is that the theory, which moves from a corporate to an individual sense, is evidently confusing.¹⁰ "Further, the 'community' interpretation is hardly natural in any passage of the Gospels."¹¹ However, Flew's attitude is also positive. There results from Manson's theory a meaningful emphasis upon the relationship between remnant and messiahship.¹² This leads Flew to his own conclusions as to how Jesus transformed the meaning of Son of Man.

The real distinction of His use of the phrase is that He applies it to one who is offering forgiveness to the sinner...It is this connexion of the Messianic Deliverer and the community which is indisputably attested by eschatological passages both in the Old Testament and in the Apocalyptic literature. 13

Tödt does not find that the "corporate interpretation" of Son of Man has made much headway with German scholars. The strongest objections raised to it are those of Bultmann, who looks upon the Passion sayings which relate to the Son of Man as creations of the Hellenistic community.¹⁴ Tödt himself raises the objection that the Son of Man sayings in Daniel 7, Ezra 13, and

9. Schmidt, Church, page 40.

10. Flew, Church, page 75; also Duncan, Jesus Son of Man, page 143.

11. Flew, Church, page 75. 12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., page 76.

14. H. E. Tödt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, page 17.

I Enoch all reveal one who is "acting in a transcendent place rather than within the boundaries of the existing world."¹⁵

Manson's theory would simplify the question of Church origins for it would establish a definite continuity between the band of Jesus' disciples and the earliest Church. Tüdt feels compelled to reject Manson's solution on two grounds. The first is that there is no "distinctly" or "emphatically" designated corporate body.¹⁶ That is the disciples of Jesus are not set apart as a closed society or a holy remnant. The second reason for his rejection deals with Manson's strict development of the remnant as a prophetic ideal which is eventually to be embodied in the Son of Man. This causes Tüdt to reach a rather obscure conclusion. "When Jesus appears he can only fulfill what is already conceived and expressed in prophecy. It is thus no longer comprehensible why the disciples' following is so distinctly and exclusively related to Jesus' person."¹⁷

The corporate theory has not really been able to overcome the reservations attached to it, as shown by the reviews stated above. However, most criticisms of Manson's position do not deal with a very important criterion which he set for the theory. Does it explain the Son of Man sayings, or is it consistent with them? There is a validity in the criticisms levelled at the corporate theory, and they probably would mediate against a possibility of making a substantial case for it from the Gospels. Still, Son and Man and community, if not identical, may be very closely related in the synoptics so as to shed light on the continuity between Jesus of Nazareth and the early Church.

Several categories of the Son of Man sayings will be examined to see if they have implications for the founding of the Church. Seven sayings related to the activity of the Son of Man on earth will be examined first.

15. Tüdt, Son of Man, page 29.

16. Ibid., page 310.

17. Ibid. page 311.

I. Mark 2:10(The Son of Man has authority to forgive sins).

It is an unusual saying because it is the only place where the Son of Man is connected with the forgiveness of sins. This has caused doubt as to its authenticity, but as will be argued later, this need not necessarily remove the saying from the ministry of Jesus. However, there are many scholars who see the saying as an undoubted community-formulation.¹⁸ The argument for this position may be summarized as being an attempt on the part of the early Church to justify its own practice of forgiving sins by basing it upon the ministry of Jesus. This means reading into his ministry the eschatological power of the heavenly Son of Man or the "authority of the ascended Lord"(Bornkamm).

There are, however, factors which mediate against this Sitz im Leben. Taylor suggests that the primitive community would have been greatly interested in this topic of forgiveness of sins, and it would be natural for them to turn to the authority and example of Jesus.¹⁹ But this does not mean that an invention was necessary to satisfy the needs of the community. "It seems reasonable to suggest that historical testimony would be preferred to creative invention at a time when eyewitnesses still lived."²⁰

R. H. Fuller argues that the basic reason for assuming that the verse is a community creation is the Messianic reference by his contemporaries. But he is not convinced that the use of Son of Man by Jesus would have been taken as a Messianic reference. Fuller bases this conclusion upon the supposition that Son of Man was not a Messianic title at that time. Therefore, since Jesus had not explained the meaning of the term even to his own disciples, this is not necessarily a public confirmation of his Messiahship.²¹

Otto emphasizes what is certainly a very strong point. "It is absurd to say that a community which had always heard its master use "I" would suddenly hit upon the idea of making him speak of himself in the third person."²² He extends this argument by noting that in the tradition only Jesus

18. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 229; Tödt, Son of Man, page 130; Cranfield, Mark, page 100.

19. Taylor, Mark, page 192. 20. Ibid.

21. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, pages 98,106.

22. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, page 233.

speaks of himself as the Son of Man. It is a title which is never used, even by Paul, of Jesus; it is used by Jesus.

The force of these arguments suggests that the verse may be authentic. Certainly an important question is raised. Why must one assume that Jesus had become sort of a magician's hat for the early Church, which felt privileged to pull out any bit of useful material which suited its purpose? All too often radical criticism fails to ask why the Church might have been interested in the forgiveness of sins. It leaves one in the hopeless position of having a community create a situation, such as the practice of forgiving sins, and then having it create a situation by which to explain its circumstance. Surely it is more logical to say that the question of forgiveness of sin was pertinent to the early Church because it had been part of Jesus' ministry. As will be argued throughout the whole discussion of Jesus' ministry, he did and said things which were fundamentally involved in relating men to the grace of God. This is but another instance of something which was characteristic of him and therefore, relevant to the Church.

Moving from this point it is possible to see the usefulness of Tödt's desire to know why there is the unique linking of the name of Son of Man with the forgiveness of sins.²³ He emphasizes that the verse is not of Hellenistic origin as Bultmann supposes, but is part of the Palestinian tradition which distinguished between the Son of Man as an apocalyptic figure and as the earthly Jesus. And in this instance the power of the heavenly being is not conveyed to Jesus, it is rather the exact opposite. Because of the early Church's concept of the authority of Jesus, even to forgive sins, it attributed the same to the Son of Man. Hence this is the explanation for the combination of forgiveness of sins with the Son of Man.²⁴ It is not clear whether Tödt means to imply that Jesus did forgive sins or whether the early Church merely thought he did so. If he does not take the former alternative, he is left with a dilemma similar to the one he had just solved. "Why did the early Church in an unprecedented action, connect

23. Tödt, Son of Man, page 126.

24. Ibid., page 127.

forgiveness of sins to Jesus?"

The soteriological implication of the verse is unmistakable.²⁵ There are no community references here as Son of Man does not appear to be a communal concept. And the soteriological implication is not valid simply for man, as Manson supposes.²⁶ The crux of the verse is the authority of Jesus, which is claimed to be sufficient for deliverance from sin. It is then possible to note that if a new people were being established there was already evident a way of renewal and deliverance from bondage. Certainly this saying reveals a continuity between the primitive Christian conception of the community as being redeemed by Jesus, who had become the exalted Lord, and Jesus in his earthly ministry. If this saying was the only one to reveal such a continuity it would be suspect; it does though relate to the whole of the ministry. "Anyone who reads the parable of the Prodigal Son... which describes the unimaginable goodness of divine forgiveness, (by which) Jesus justifies his table-fellowship with publicans and sinners, is again confronted with the claim of Jesus to be regarded as God's representative, acting with his authority."²⁷

II. Matthew 11:19=Luke 7:34 (Comparison of Son of Man and John the Baptist).

In order to determine the significance of this saying for the community of Jesus' followers a positive statement about it will be noted. E. Schweizer, who accepts the authenticity of those Son of Man sayings which relate to Jesus' earthly activity, is especially sure of the genuineness of this particular one, which is set in a context "not consistent with the Church's view of John as either the forerunner or the competitor of Jesus."²⁸ His conclusion is supported by Duncan who sees the verse as a reference by Jesus to himself, and he would regard it as a "perversion of criticism" to see Son of Man here as a reference to a celestial being.²⁹ The defamation

25. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, page 161

26. Manson, Teaching, page 214.

27. Jeremias, The Problem of the Historical Jesus, page 21.

28. E. Schweizer, "The Son of Man Again", NTS, Vol. 9, No. 3, April, 1963, page 258; also JBL, 79 (1960), pages 119-29.

29. Duncan, Jesus, page 141; see also Kummel who stresses that the original comparison between Jesus and John is evidence of the statement's authenticity, which he thinks cannot be effectively challenged. He further supports the contention that the verse reveals that Jesus referred to himself as the Son of Man, Promise and Fulfilment, pages 39,46.

of character contained in the verse is also used to support the old and historical nature of the saying.³⁰

There are others who agree to the ancient character of the words, but who do not see that Son of Man is to be taken as part of the original saying. It is placed there because in the post-Resurrection Church there is the complete identification of Jesus with the Son of Man.³¹ Therefore, since Jesus did not identify himself with the Son of Man, the verse must be put right by adding "I" in the place of "Son of Man". Without arguing with this conclusion, a very pertinent question raised by William Manson should be applied to it.

Have we any right to say that such an expansion of ideas could have arisen only after the crucifixion, and that it was not possible for Jesus in the days of his flesh? To take this attitude may conceivably be to beg the whole question of Christian origins. 32

T. W. Manson also thinks that Son of Man is the improper word in the context, but his objection is on linguistic grounds. He takes "Son of Man" to be a periphrasis for "I", and it is based on an error regarding the Aramaic basis for the word. "Again, why should Jesus use the apocalyptic counter bar nasha when it is obvious that it is his personal character that is being contrasted with that of John the Baptist?"³³ This argument might hold were it not for the reason which made this defamatory comment a possibility. The comment made by Todd on this point answers the objection raised by Manson, and as will be seen is the proper reply to the position taken by Higgins and Bornkamm.

The action of the Son of Man here appears in a certain light; he acts with supreme authority when bestowing table-fellowship on tax-collectors and sinners...We have to consider this when answering the question whether the name Son of Man is here used as a synonym for the pronoun in the first person singular in Jesus' discourse or whether it implies a designation of sovereignty. Obviously that action of the Son of Man for which this generation reproaches

30. Fuchs, Studies of the Historical Jesus, page 145.

31. Bornkamm, Jesus, pages 229-30; Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, page 123.

32. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 118.

33. T. W. Manson, Teaching, page 217.

him here is a specific act of sovereignty superior to the restraints of the Law by virtue of the authority of a direct mission. It is an action which befits only an authorized person. It is this distinctive action which is emphasized by the name Son of Man. 34

The term Son of Man is in its place in the saying not as a mistake, but because of what Jesus did or said. If it is objected that Jesus did not apply such a title to himself, then the question is raised as to why it is applied to him here. The obvious answer is that acting with final authority he breaks down the barriers between himself and the outcasts, and feasts with them in fellowship. It is such a conclusion which leads Fuchs to say: "The malicious description of him given by his opponents in Matt. 11:19 par. Luke 7:34 established the fact...that Jesus celebrated eschatological feasts with those whom he had called to the rule of God."³⁵ The possibility of a new people of God cannot be far removed from such a saying as Matthew 11:19. It marks a new day in Israel, with the reclaiming of the sinner and the establishing of a fellowship with Jesus. It was precisely this authoritative activity of Jesus which brought down the wrath of his opponents.

Before moving to the next verse it might be suggested that if it is the early Church, not Jesus, which uses the title, such usage implies that the Son of Man Christology is read out of Jesus' ministry. Because Jesus acted in an authoritative way to create fellowship with the sinner, the Son of Man would be expected to do the same. This puts Christian origins in proper perspective. Jesus is the creative force; early Christianity is the modifying force.

III. Matthew 12:32=Luke 12:10 (Blasphemy against the Spirit).

The interpretation of the saying is complicated because it has a counterpart in Mark (3:28) which does not mention the Son of Man in the singular, instead having a plural reading. Bultmann, following Wellhausen, thinks that Mark has the more original form, and the form used by Matthew and Luke

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34. Tödt, Son of Man, pages 115-6.

35. Fuchs, Studies of the Historical Jesus, page 24.

arose through a misunderstanding.³⁶ However, such a relatively easy solution is challenged by Tödt and Higgins.

The chief criticism of the priority of Mark is the failure of that version to give emphasis to the distinction between blasphemy against the Son of Man and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. The saying is to be found in the context of a challenge given to Jesus' activity, in this instance his power of exorcism being attributed to Beelzebul.³⁷ However, the meaning of the verse is not to be found by locating it in the ministry of Jesus for its Sitz im Leben is the early Church.³⁸ The verse deals with the problem of how one who rejected the earthly Jesus may be forgiven. "He who did not follow the earthly Jesus may nevertheless find forgiveness when following the exalted Lord, i.e. if he does not blaspheme against the Spirit."³⁹

It seems as though the distinction between the sin against the Son of Man and the Holy Spirit is the real point of the saying, and therefore, Matthew and Luke would be regarded as having the more original form. However, the usefulness of the saying as a pronouncement of the early Church seems limited. Why should the early Church distinguish between the exalted Lord, Son of Man, and the Holy Spirit? More precisely, on what grounds would sin against the Spirit of the Lord and sin against the Lord really differ? If the saying arose, in such form, in the early Church it appears less probable than if it had said: Sin against Jesus is forgiveable; sin against the Holy Spirit or against the exalted Son of Man cannot be forgiven. This would have been completely unambiguous and would have settled the problem of those who had opposed Jesus yet had come to believe in the risen Lord. On this ground we may ask if the ministry of Jesus is not the more natural location of the verse. Jesus, it may be argued, claimed to cast out demons by the Spirit of God. Yet his opponents claimed he worked with demonic power. To this charge Jesus replied: One will be forgiven for opposing me (i.e. the Son of Man on earth for the early Church), but opposition to the Spirit working through me is unforgiveable. This interpretation

36. Bultmann, History, page 131; also Taylor, Mark, page 242.

37. Tödt, Son of Man, pages 118-9; Higgins, Son of Man, pages 127-32.

38. Higgins, Son of Man, page 130.

39. Tödt, Son of Man, page 119.

has the merit of apparently preserving the distinction between the two types of blasphemy, and it corresponds to the situation of opposition in Jesus' ministry. Certainly the authoritative actions of Jesus would have given rise to the charge of blasphemy and "words against" him. This might be expected. "But he knows the Spirit directs his life; to call these Spirit-effected healings the work of Satan reveals the speaker's hopeless bankruptcy."⁴⁰

The point of the saying which is relevant for the new people of God is that Jesus was making real the powers of the new age; the Spirit of God was active in him.

IV. Matthew 8:20=Luke 9:58(The Homelessness of the Son of Man).

The position as to authenticity ranges from Bultmann's explanation of it as a proverb⁴¹ to Kümmel's positive assurance of its genuineness.⁴² For Bultmann the original meaning of the proverb must have dealt with the homelessness of man in comparison to the wild beasts. Higgins, quoting Manson, rejects this interpretation on the basis that there must be some element of correctness in a proverb. "'Proverbs...must contain some element of truth: and this proverb is required to say that man, in contrast to foxes and birds, has no home; which is plain nonsense. For man, of all the living creatures, has provided himself with the most elaborate and permanent lodgings.'"⁴³

T. W. Manson has given the most imaginative interpretation of the saying. For him the foxes represent the "Edomite interlopers" and the birds are the Romans. This means that Jesus said something to the effect that everyone is at home in Israel, except the true Israel.⁴⁴ Both Higgins⁴⁵ and Tödt⁴⁶ feel that the interpretation fails because of its need to use Son of Man in a collective sense. Their rejection may be slightly hasty, for as can be shown the saying may imply a solidarity of suffering, a kind of corporate rejection. In order to see this implication it is necessary to follow Tödt and Higgins in their interpretations.

40. Filson, Matthew, page 150.

41. Bultmann, History, page 28.

42. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, pages 39, 46.

43. Higgins, Son of Man, page 124.

44. Manson, Sayings, pages 364-5.

45. Higgins, Son of Man, page 124.

46. Tödt, Son of Man, page 122.

As Higgins notes, the saying is not to be taken in an absolutely literal fashion.⁴⁷ He also suggests that it is not to be seen as a passion prediction. This is removed from Fuller's position that the saying is figurative and in its emphasis comes very close to a prophecy of suffering.⁴⁸ The argument may be with Higgins when he insists that since Q nowhere else has a passion prediction it is not likely to have one in such an ambiguous form as Matthew 8:20.⁴⁹ However, there remains the prominent element of rejection so pointedly marked by the reference to homelessness.

To whom is this rejection to be applied? Easton thinks that the verse would be pointless without "Son of Man" having been spoken by Jesus. "Indeed, when the saying was uttered, only Christ would have fully appreciated its irony."⁵⁰ Tödt sees the name of Son of Man as not referring to the celestial Son of Man but to "Jesus in his homelessness".⁵¹ Manson, also favours the reading bar nasha in this instance.⁵² Higgins on the other hand rejects it as a Son of Man saying, although the substance of the saying may go back to Jesus.⁵³ If this last interpretation is assumed then the question is to be asked: Why is Son of Man used? It appears that Tödt has the correct answer. He points out that the opposition to Jesus is ranged against his use of "supreme authority" in calling men to follow him. On this basis the saying has an adequate position in the ministry of Jesus. It reflects the opposition which his conduct aroused and manifests the historical rejection which he encountered. This brings the argument back to Manson's interpretation of the verse. If the Son of Man is to be rejected as a corporate term, the rejection must provide note of a certain solidarity implied in the use of the term. Here it is certainly obvious that the one who responds to the authoritative call of Jesus will be expected to share in his rejection. It will be argued in the discussion of the Passion sayings that the solidarity of suffering has serious implications for the establishment of the Christian community.

47. Higgins, Son of Man, page 125.

48. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, page 105.

49. Higgins, Son of Man, page 126.

50. Easton, Luke, page 156.

51. Tödt, Son of Man, page 122.

52. Manson, Teaching, page 218.

53. Higgins, Son of Man, page 126.

V. Luke 6:22(Persecution for the Sake of the Son of Man).

The verse is similar to Matthew 5:11, and it is immaterial to the present interest as to which is the more original.⁵⁴ It is generally held to be a community formulation.⁵⁵ This may be a debatable conclusion, but again it is not of interest in the present investigation. What is important is the fact that the Son of Man in Luke 6:22 does not refer to the celestial or exalted Son of Man.

We must notice that the point is not a persecution on account of the coming Son of Man. Even the parousia sayings always speak of the disciples confessing Jesus... In the same way here a persecution is spoken of which occurs on account of the Son of Man's activity on earth. He alone exists in the tension over against this generation. Attachment to him exposes his follower to men's hostility. 56

Now this may mean that the early Church encountered persecution because it made exorbitant claims that the exalted Lord is connected with the earthly Jesus. But then we are driven back to seeing that the authoritative claims and actions of Jesus are the only logical explanation for his ultimate rejection and death. Anyone who persists in confessing such significance to the earthly Jesus will encounter persecution. Jesus then is the "scandal" to the unbelieving generation. Attachment to him in pre-Easter or post-Resurrection times guarantees rejection and possible persecution. One might call this a solidarity in suffering.

VI. Luke 19:10(The Son of Man has come to seek and save the lost).

The present context of the verse does not appear to be genuine. Since the story of Zacchaeus is complete by verse 9, the saying seems to be unnecessary, and it has a shorter version and different context in Matthew.⁵⁷ The words "is come" do not necessarily indicate a late origin since the same connexion is made in Q at Matthew 11:19.⁵⁸ Despite a recognition of early Palestinian origins for the saying, both Tödt⁵⁹ and Higgins⁶⁰ deny

54. Higgins, Son of Man, argues for Luke, pages 119f.

55. Higgins, Son of Man, pages 119f; Tödt, Son of Man, pages 123f.

56. Tödt, Son of Man, page 123.

57. Manson, Teaching, page 225.

58. Tödt, Son of Man, page 134..

59. Ibid.

60. Higgins, Son of Man, page 77.

it as a word of Jesus. However, they both agree that it may have an original basis in the ministry of Jesus, either in some such saying as Mark 2: 17 or in the activity of Jesus in association with tax-collectors. Willaim Manson would question why the saying could not be seen in terms of Jesus' ministry.

No prophet speaks of himself as coming or having come in the sense in which Jesus does. Yet no word of Jesus has better title to be regarded as historical than that which throws 'the law and the prophets' into the past (Mt. xii. 2-13, Lk. xvi. 16a). Why should not Jesus... speak of his mission with the reflective consciousness that it marked a new and final era in divine-human relations? 61

Son of Man, used in this saying either by Jesus or by the early Church, is a designation of his authority and power, even to rescue the lost. And the saying fits the context of the ministry which opened new possibilities for the outcasts of Israel.

VII. Mark 10:45 (Son of Man to give his life as a ransom for many).

This verse, which on its own is the source of great discussion, is complicated by its relationship to Luke 22:27. The saying is important in the consideration of several ideas: Son of Man, Servant of God, combination of Son of Man and Servant, the Last Supper, the ransom idea. An impressive group of scholars have argued for its authenticity.⁶² The argument for genuineness has been possible in part because the main objection to authenticity can be answered.

Wellhausen argued that 10:45 was out of context. The reply to this is that if Jesus was to serve it would only be natural for him to explain the form which this serving would take.⁶³

The word παροικ is said to imply a date after the completion of the life and work of Jesus. But it is also possible that it could be used by one looking back to coming from God⁶⁴ or simply from the moment of speaking.⁶⁵

It is claimed to be a "dogmatic transformation" of Luke 22:27.⁶⁶ However, the context of Luke 22:27 in association with the Last Supper does

61. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 70.

62. Jeremias, Servant, pages 90ff.; Schweitzer, The Mystery of the Kingdom of God, page 235, W. Manson, Jesus, pages 131-3; Otto, Kingdom, page 252.

63. Cranfield, Mark, page 343.

64. Ibid.

65. Taylor, Mark, page 444.

66. Bultmann, History, page 93.

not suggest that it is to be regarded as a simple statement of service.⁶⁷ The Lukan terminology suggests that it is a saying of the Church.⁶⁸ This is based on the use of the words νεώτερος and ῥαγούμενος.

The term λύτρον is said to reveal a Pauline influence. There are two replies to this position. As Taylor notes, Paulinism is rooted in primitive Christianity. "Moreover, if Mk.x.45 is due to Pauline influence, it is strange that λύτρον never occurs in Paul."⁶⁹

If λύτρον is not to be seen as Pauline influence it is said to reveal a developed theology other than what would have been in the ministry of Jesus. William Manson shows that the idea need not have originated in a time after Jesus.⁷⁰ The idea of man needing a ransom for his forfeited soul or life was not unknown in the Old Testament or other literature (Psalm 49:9-7, I Enoch 98:10). Isaiah 53 knows of the ransom or guilt offering idea, and in late Judaism the suffering of the righteous martyrs was given a redemptive significance (IV Macc. 6:28f., IV Macc. 17:21-22).

In view of these facts, it will not do to pronounce it impossible or unlikely that Jesus, who saw his work and teaching to be fraught with critical significance for his nation, should think of his sacrifice in terms of an 'asham' for many, as completing and consummating the work...which he had sought by his life to effect. 71

This interpretation is still possible if the saying in the present form is rejected as a Son of Man saying. As Manson himself points out it differs from all other Son of Man sayings in that it states not that the Son of Man will suffer, but that he has come for that purpose.⁷² This fact worries Higgins more than Manson, and therefore, he concludes that the first part of the saying reflects early Christian thought.⁷³ But he does see that behind the saying is a metaphorical allusion by Jesus to his death as a ransom.⁷⁴ Higgins compares this with such other metaphorical statements about suffering and death as "drinking the cup" (Mark 10:38) and undergoing a "baptism" (Mark 10:38; Luke 12:50).⁷⁵

67. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 132.

68. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, page 57; Higgins, Son of Man, page 38.

69. Cranfield, Mark, pages 344-5.

70. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 132. 71. Ibid., page 133.

72. Ibid., page 132. 73. Higgins, Son of Man, page 48.

74. Ibid., page 48. 75. Ibid.

The point of the saying is that Jesus sees his mission and life to have soteriological significance. This will have to be related to the discussion of the Last Supper to see its special communal significance. It is probably in that setting that Mark 10:45 can most properly be understood.

The implications from the Son of Man sayings which refer to Jesus' earthly activity is that his ministry opened the possibility of a community of salvation and almost demanded a solidarity in suffering. The question is do the prophecies of the Passion and the Parousia confirm this approach?

Numerically the prophecies of the Passion are well-attested. There are eight instances of the prediction in the Gospel of Mark (8:31, 9:9, 9:12, 9:31, 10:33, 10:45, 14:21, 14:41). In most cases the sayings are used by Matthew and Luke; examples of Passion prophecies are also found in the L source (22:48, 22:69). Generally speaking such an apparent wide-spread usage would count heavily for the authenticity of the content. There are, however, considerable complications regarding those sayings which connect the Passion and the Son of Man.

The primary objection to the authentic nature of the verse is the absence of any similar sayings in Q. This may be seen as an insurmountable barrier, as in the case of Higgins, who calls this absence "prima facie" evidence of the unauthenticity of such sayings elsewhere."⁷⁶ One may find the other extreme occupied by Manson who does not find the absence from Q to be of any great significance. He maintains this position on the basis that Q has no Passion narrative;⁷⁷ therefore, it is assumed that Passion predictions might be understandably absent. Higgins tries to overcome Manson's position by showing that Q does not completely overlook the Passion (see Luke 13:34f.=Matt. 23:37-39).⁷⁸ However, it does fail to make a connection between Son of Man and the Passion.

Another objection to this group of sayings is the complete separation between the Passion and Parousia type prophecies. Tödt raises the pertinent problem resulting from this separation. If both sets of sayings originated with Jesus it is incomprehensible that they should have remained strictly

76. Higgins, Son of Man, page 191.

77. Manson, Teaching, page 227.

78. Higgins, Son of Man, page 133.

separate.⁷⁹

On the same order as the last objection is the fact that in the Passion sayings Jesus speaks of himself as Son of Man; in the Parousia sayings he speaks of the Son of Man as one separate from himself.

The arguments cast considerable doubt upon the possibility that Jesus connected Son of Man with his own Passion. But, they must be seen in the light of the fact that Son of Man is a Jesus-word. With almost no exception, it is a term strictly limited to Jesus' own vocabulary. If it is incomprehensible why certain types of Son of Man sayings are kept separate, it is surely significant that Son of Man is kept strictly as a word of Jesus. In the case of those sayings about the earthly activity of the Son of Man it was noted that the manner in which Jesus acted filled out the meaning of the term Son of Man as it was exclusively applied to him. In the present instance it may again be a significant aspect of his ministry which has given new content to the term Son of Man. In defense of this it should be noted that the chief objections to the authenticity of these verses stand upon their usage of Son of Man, not upon their relationship to Jesus' ministry. Therefore, it is possible to take such a saying as Mark 9:12 and discover in it all the signs of authenticity, despite the powerful arguments against the genuineness of this class of sayings.

A portion of Higgins argument against the authenticity of Mark 9:12 will be examined. He argues that the verse must be compared to Luke 24:26 in that both seek a scriptural warrant for suffering. Since Luke 24:26 is admittedly from the perspective of the risen Lord, Higgins would regard Mark 9:12 as an expression of "Christian belief rather than as words of Jesus."⁸⁰ However, it must be said that Higgins does not really compare the two verses. There are considerable differences: Mark 9:12 is set in a pre-Easter context; Luke 24:26 is not. Mark 9:12 uses the Jesus-word Son of Man; Luke 24:26 uses the Church-word, "Christ". Mark 9:12 is nebulous and lacking in detail; Luke 24:26 is complete in comparison.

79. Tüdt, Son of Man, page 144.

80. Higgins, Son of Man, page 33.

Of course Higgins' statement that this prediction occurs from the perspective of the post-Easter Church is the usual argument against the authenticity of the Passion prophecies. In regard to other of these statements than 9:12, Bornkamm has written:

They speak all the more of the trial by men here on earth, to which the Son of Man will be delivered according to God's will, before he rises again. Even if we do not doubt that Jesus reckoned on his violent death, these prophecies of his suffering and resurrection can hardly be considered to be Jesus' own words. They presume a detailed knowledge of the Passion and Easter story. 81

It is on the grounds that Mark 9:12 does not fit such a verdict that it has been reckoned authentic. Fuller, following William Manson, calls the form of the saying "rugged and irreducible" indicating that it is an "original oracle".⁸² Otto says that "with its simplicity and in its vagueness" it "would not have been invented by the theology of a church."⁸³ The vagueness, obscurity, and lack of detail evident in the verse certainly do not make it a likely prediction after the fact.⁸⁴ As Taylor remarks: "A bare reference to suffering and being set at nought is a disappointing vaticinium post eventum!"⁸⁵

Because of these arguments which very definitely favour the authenticity of this verse, a very significant problem arises. If the general objections to Son of Man as a personal designation by Jesus and to the combining of Son of Man with the Passion are valid, why should such a verse as Mark 9:12 have all the earmarks of authenticity? Surely Taylor is not far from being perfectly correct when he says: "That a community could so exactly reproduce the manner of using the Old Testament characteristic of Jesus, and could create the atmosphere which surrounds His mode of interpretation, is not credible."⁸⁶ However, one is equally justified in questioning Son of Man as combined with Passion predictions. How can there be truth in both positions? To begin the answer a paragraph from Anderson's Jesus and Christian Origins will be cited.

81. Bornkamm, Jesus, pages 228-9.

82. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, page 56.

83. Otto, The Kingdom of God, page 250.

84. See Taylor, Jesus, page 96; Cranfield, Mark, pages 298-9.

85. Taylor, Jesus, page 96.

86. Ibid.

...the use of the term "Son of Man" was an original formulation of Jesus. That he employed the title cannot be refuted; that he identified his own person with the coming, heavenly Son of Man cannot...be ascertained with any certainty. At any rate, we can see how the fact that Jesus himself employed this designation could have led...to its wider and wider application to the earthly setting of the ministry of Jesus, until, from the perspective of the finished work of Jesus the Christ, "Jesus" and "Son of Man" have become synonymous. 87

The quote acknowledges that Jesus' use of the term is the basis for its consequent application to him. But, in order to solve the problem stated above, it is necessary to emphasize that Son of Man is exclusively a "Jesus-word". The Church does not take over this title for its own theological vocabulary. It is restricted to Jesus, and the content of the word is filled out by his ministry. This suggests why, although Son of Man may be rejected as a personal designation by Jesus, it is found in what appear to be authentic passages. Because Son of Man was a characteristic formulation used by Jesus, its usage by the early Church is restricted to the type of event or word which was thought characteristic of Jesus. The three categories of the Son of Man sayings prove this contention.

The sayings about the earthly activity of the Son of Man reflect the unprecedented claim to authority which was made by Jesus. They revolve around his sovereign approach to the Law and his claim to make the grace of God a reality in human experience. The seeking of the lost with the forgiveness of God was what separated Jesus from the whole pattern of his religious heritage (Montefiore). He was able to overcome the barriers of a Law-based religion with his own authoritative word of forgiveness and fellowship. It is in this characteristic activity that he is called Son of Man.

The sayings about the Passion of the Son of Man reflect the unprecedented claim of combining authority with suffering, power with service. It may be argued that such a combination was only made by the early Church, however, it is more likely that it was developed and extended by the primitive community. There is no adequate reason to suppose that Jesus could not have done the same. Jeremias appears to have made an indisputable case

for this position on the value of two considerations.

a) Jesus must surely have thought of the possibility of his own violent death. Jeremias sees this confirmed in the situation of Jesus' ministry.⁸⁸ He cites several accusations against Jesus and the possible punishment for them; blasphemy (Mark 2:7par)=stoning; false prophet (Luke 13:33)=capital punishment; sabbath-breaking+ stoning; sorcery (Matt.9:34)=stoning. "Second, (the history of Israel) must have compelled Jesus to reckon with the possibility of death by violence."⁸⁹ This was a fate of the prophets, and it had been greatly emphasized by the death of John the Baptist. "A third observation may be added as an indication of the historical value of the suggestions that Jesus reckoned with the possibility of a violent death. Jesus' predictions of his passion contain a number of features which did not materialize."⁹⁰

b) Jeremias argues that Jesus could very easily have seen his own death as atoning since it was a feature of contemporary thought that even the death of a repentant criminal could have atoning significance.⁹¹ He cites other examples where death is seen as atoning.⁹² In the light of this it seems probable that Jesus would have seen an atoning significance to his death. In so doing he would have combined an unprecedented authority with a suffering service.

The whole group of the Parousia sayings may not support the contention that Son of Man reveals elements characteristic of Jesus' words and actions. Still, it is very significant that in the sayings concerning the Parousia of the Son of Man, Jesus does equate himself with the Son of Man (such as his reply to the High Priest). There are other sayings where the distinction between the two seems to be evident. However, in Mark 8:38 and Luke 12:8f. the distinction is most clearly stated. But, even here Son of Man is passive, even in his future judgement. The confession or denial of Jesus determines in this age what the course of the future judgement will be. Thus in Jesus' ministry the future and the present are linked together in the fellowship which he establishes. The saving powers of the new age are available to those who adhere to him and to his message.

88. Jeremias and Zimmerli, Servant, pages 101f. 89. Ibid., page 102.

90. Ibid. 91. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, page 152.

92. Ibid., pages 151-2.

On the basis that Son of Man, as a Jesus-word, may indicate what was characteristic of Jesus' ministry, Mark 9:12 can be regarded as authentic in content. Jesus expected suffering as a result of his activity. The solidarity of suffering can hardly be denied. From the calling of the first disciples, which meant the breaking of family ties, to the sayings about a common cup and baptism, it is obvious that Jesus felt his followers would be included in his own rejection and ultimate suffering. If one of the fundamental callings of the Christian Church is to a self-giving service to the world, it must ultimately be derived from Jesus' call to his followers to drink his cup and share his baptism. The strength of Manson's interpretation of the Son of Man is felt at this point. "It is sufficient to note that the historical fact appears to be that when Jesus speaks of the sufferings of the Son of Man he means something in which he and his followers should share."⁹³

A third category of Son of Man sayings deal with the future activity of the Son of Man. A series of sayings found in Mark (Mark 8:38=Luke 9:26, see Matthew 16:27) and Q (Luke 12:8=Matthew 10:32; Luke 12:9=Matthew 10:33) form a bridge between the Passion sayings and the future sayings. This complex of sayings, which is distributed throughout the synoptic sources, are called by Tödt "'the disciples' way of suffering".⁹⁴ They deal with an earthly and "costly" relationship with Jesus, yet they are attached to the future activity of the Son of Man.

The Markan and Q forms will be examined as to authenticity, meaning, and in their relationship to each other. Mark 8:38 is generally regarded as authentic, or at least as a saying which with a great deal of probability goes back to Jesus.⁹⁵ Taylor approaches the saying on the basis that there is nothing in it which Jesus could not have said.⁹⁶ The reason why such a valuation has much support is the distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man. This separation of the two was not likely to have arisen in a community which identified them unambiguously as the same person.⁹⁷

93. Manson, Teaching, page 232.

94. Tödt, Son of Man, page 40.

95. Tödt, page 40; Bultmann, History, pages 151-2.

96. Taylor, Mark, page 383.

97. S. E. Johnson, Mark, page 152; Higgins, Son of Man, page 60.

Mark 8:38b is sometimes regarded as an apocalyptic addition because it is difficult to understand why the tradition would have been reduced and the saying omitted in the Q form.⁹⁸ J.A. T. Robinson adds to this argument by reasoning that: a) Mark 9:1-Matthew 16:28 reveals a Church tendency to add Parousia references; b) 8:38b represents God as the Father of the Son of Man in an unparalleled manner; c) "...the idea of the Son of Man 'coming' in judgement belongs to a conception in which the Son of man is himself the judge."⁹⁹ Although Higgins suggests that this non-apocalyptic interpretation should not be pressed,¹⁰⁰ it is probably best to view 8:38a as more authentic and the portion of the saying which is to be interpreted.

Taylor interprets the saying with a communal definition of Son of Man, which is the elect community.¹⁰¹ This means that whoever is ashamed of Jesus and his disciples in this age will be judged by the elect community in the age to come. However, this does not seem to be the intent of the saying. The inference is that one who denies Jesus and his own people will be denied by the Son of Man, who is seen in contrast to both Jesus and his followers and to those who deny Jesus. This is seen more clearly in Luke 12:8f.

A more readily acceptable interpretation reflects upon the unity between present and future. The present in Jesus is "in itself already an eschatological hour of decision."¹⁰² This is a most important fact relating to the establishment of an eschatological congregation or people of God. One's relationship to God in the judgement can be decided in the present which is fraught with consequence. In what might be called an hour of decision, a division is established between those who belong to Jesus and those who reject or deny him. There may be seen a solidarity in salvation.

This solidarity of salvation is the reverse of the saying given in Mark 8:38 which warns against being ashamed of Jesus and his words. "Ashamed (ἐπαισχυνθῆ in Mark 8:38) was a term used by the primitive Church (Rom. 1:16; II Tim. 1:8). It is used in Mark in the sense of "deny", however, more

98. T.F. Glasson, The Second Advent, page 69.

99. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, pages 54-5.

100. Higgins, Son of Man, page 60. 101. Taylor, Mark, page 384.

102. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 47.

is implied than simply denying acquaintance. The word suggests the refusal or the breaking of fellowship with Jesus. "The location of Mark 8:38 amidst the sayings on fellowship permits no doubt that attachment to Jesus through following him is what is meant. Whoever renounces this allegiance will be denied any fellowship by the Son of Man..."¹⁰³ The saying is most likely a soteriological statement, and it reflects the authority of Jesus who calls for such significant allegiance. That allegiance divides the disciples from the hostile generation in the temporal present and in the final future of judgement. It reflects a people who adhere to the calling of Jesus and maintain fellowship with him. They will ultimately be confirmed by the Son of Man.

Branscomb has raised the objection that Son of Man should not be traced back to Jesus' usage. In the instance of Mark 8:38, he notes that in the ethical instruction of Jesus there is no reference to the Son of Man and especially in the Sermon on the Mount that no agent for judgement is needed by God.¹⁰⁴ This would mean Mark 8:38 and its counterparts were community products. There are two drawbacks to this position. First, there is a distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man. And Son of Man is too strongly attested in the tradition as a term used by Jesus. There are other objections to the saying which will be discussed in regard to its Lukan form.

Because of the Parousia addition to Mark 8:38 and the absence of the Hebraic parallelism from it, Luke 12:8f. is considered to be the preferable form.¹⁰⁵ Like Mark 8:38, Luke 12:8f. is regarded as authentic because of the distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man. "This saying is genuine, for no church would have invented at a later time a theology making a distinction so foreign to the feeling of the church..."¹⁰⁶ This position in regard to the authenticity of Luke 12:8f. has been thoroughly criticized by Howard Teeple.¹⁰⁷ He rejects its authenticity on several grounds.

a) The substance of the saying "makes confessing Jesus basic for human

103. T8d†, Son of Man, page 41.

104. Branscomb, Mark, pages 157-8.

105. Dodd, Parables, page 71; also Cranfield, Glasson, Robinson, Higgins.

106. Otto, Kingdom of God, page 163; Higgins, Son of Man, page 60.

107. Howard M. Teeple, "The Origin of the Son of Man Christology", JBL, Vol. 84, Part II, pages 213-250.

salvation."¹⁰⁸ According to Teeple's "valid criteria" for judging the authenticity of the Son of Man sayings, this one fact is enough to invalidate the saying since he holds that any connection between belief in Jesus' person and salvation must be a product of the early Church.¹⁰⁹ He bases this on the supposition that belief in the Messiah was not necessary for salvation in Judaism. However, one might ask would the Jews have thought any person could have been Messiah if he did not have the power to deliver the people in some saving manner? In this sense the Jews certainly believed Messiah would deliver the people. The implication of the present verse is that those who adhere to the saving mission of Jesus will ultimately be vindicated.

b) He argues that the saying does not fit the ministry of Jesus but "fits very well into the situation of the early Church."¹¹⁰ This is a most debatable conclusion, and there are no real grounds for such a position. Certainly the opposition to Jesus in his ministry was at the very least as strong as the opposition to the early Church. There are other instances where soteriological implication are attached to Jesus' activity, but in the early Church this is directly attached to his person or title. This is true, for example, in Acts 2:37-41 where the distinctive elements of the primitive Church are visible. They are: baptism in the name of Jesus the Messiah and subsequent reception of the Holy Spirit.

c) "...the interpretation that this logion separated Jesus and the Son of man as two distinct persons is based on a misunderstanding of the passage."¹¹¹ Following Conzelmann, Teeple suggests that the saying is an example of "eschatological parallelism". The argument that there is no distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man is put forward by several interpreters of this saying. W. Manson suggests that if they were separate here, this distinction could not have been maintained very long.¹¹² Carrington views the distinction as a device to heighten the dramatic contrast between the present conflict and the future glory.¹¹³ It is interesting that when

108. Teeple, "The Origin of the Son of Man Christology", page 218.

109. Ibid., pages 222-3.

110. Ibid., page 218.

111. Ibid.

112. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 66.

113. P. Carrington, According to Mark, pages 187-8.

Teeple assumes this identification he rejects the authenticity of the verse; Manson and Carrington do just the opposite. However, the verse does make a distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man. Were it the only verse to do so, the argument advanced by Teeple and others would be more binding.

The two considerations from Luke 12:8f. which are of primary importance for the Church in Jesus' intention are: a) the significance of the attachment to Jesus' person and work; b) the correlation between the present and the future.

a. There can be no understanding of the verse which fails to see the significance of attachment to Jesus. His authoritative summons to follow and to confess him has a saving significance. One's ultimate relationship to God is determined by his relationship to Jesus.¹¹⁴ His conduct was, as Fuchs precisely states it, "audacious".¹¹⁵ It was audacious because in his own activity he attempted to put himself in God's place by asserting His gracious will.¹¹⁶ A confessing relationship to Jesus was a soteriological one. There is here a solidarity of salvation to match the solidarity of rejection in the face of this hostile generation's refusal to accept the claims of Jesus.

b) Present and future are linked in the time of final decision for those who accept or reject Jesus. There is what Tödt calls a "continuity of fellowship".¹¹⁷ C.H. Dodd, not surprisingly, finds a parallel thought in Matthew 16:19 which states that "the inspired decisions of the apostles have eternal validity. By analogy, the meaning of the saying we are discussing would be that those who acknowledge Christ on earth thereby possess the sign that they are eternally accepted by Him."¹¹⁸ The fellowship with Jesus is not only one of temporal deliverance but eternal vindication.

If the Church is the eschatological people of God who recognize Jesus as Lord and the Lord as Jesus, then the Son of Man sayings suggest such a community may well have been within Jesus' intention. He did with authority summon men into a saving fellowship with himself. For those who followed

114. Otto, Kingdom of God, page 163.

115. E. Fuchs, Studies of the Historical Jesus, page 21. 116. Ibid.

117. Tödt, Son of Man, page 57.

118. Dodd, Parables, n. 17, pages 71-2.

CHAPTER V

JESUS' INTENTION FOR HIS DISCIPLES

The intention of Jesus in regard to his disciples has without doubt serious implication for the establishment of the Church. The intention of Jesus for the group will be worked out according to five general headings. (i) The calls to discipleship will be examined first. The emphasis will be upon the calls of the first disciples, the call of Levi, and the episode involving the young ruler. (ii) The expectations which the disciples had of Jesus, although not revealed often in the synoptic tradition, may reveal material of significance for a new community. (iii) There is substantial evidence to show that Jesus' activity separated his disciples from the normal religious and social pattern. (iv) The naming of the Twelve, their mission and return, and the mission of the seventy in Luke will be noted, with special emphasis upon the "Twelve" and their "mission" in the gospel of Mark. (v) There are various independent sayings, such as that concerning the "Little Flock" and the confession of Peter, which are closely related to discipleship. They may be of value to the discussion of the Church in the ministry of Jesus.

(i) The Calls to Discipleship

Almost at the beginning of Mark's gospel(1:16-20), there stands the call of the first four disciples, Peter, Andrew, James, and John. This account is matched in Matthew(4:17-25), and although used, is seriously altered in Luke 5:1-11.¹ Luke appears to have added a symbolic sense² and to have shown several apologetic interests.³ The symbolism lies obviously in the great catch of fish made by one, known early to the Church, who was

1. S. M. Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, pages 100-02; J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke, pages 73-6.

2. Creed, Luke, pages 73-6.

3. A. R. C. Leaney, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke, pages 54-6.

destined to be a fisher of men. Thus Peter's future activity is appropriately revealed. Leaney rightly argues that questions must have arisen concerning Peter's position in the Church, especially in view of his fallible character in the tradition. So Leaney suggests "...if Gentiles and others on the fringe of the Church...objected to the failings of the most famous of the disciples, the answer lies in Peter's words in verse 8 taken with the Lord's reply in verse 10."⁴ To the apologetic and symbolic interests must be added the obvious combination by Luke of Mark 1:16-20 with a post-resurrection narrative found in John 21. That such is the case is too well-established to need argument.

Mark and Matthew are certainly preferable forms of the event in comparison to Luke. However, there are doubts concerning the historicity of the Markan narrative. The character of the story is schematic in Mark, but Taylor dismisses this as an argument against historicity on the grounds of constant repetition in the primitive tradition.⁶ No doubt such a re-telling of the story would tend to make it schematic. However, beyond this, Mark gives a doctrinaire presentation of the calling.⁷ He does not allow for any previous contact between Jesus and those called. Montefiore uses this very point to suggest the historicity of the account as a Petrine recollection. Following Eduard Meyer, he argues that Peter's real knowledge and interest in Jesus would begin at the time of such an intimate contact as this.⁸ It is to Mark's credit that he virtually begins his "history" of Jesus where the life of the Master impinges upon the life of one of his sources, Peter.⁹ However, despite the Papias' tradition and Montefiore's position, in view of other objections to the verses, there must be other substantiation of the account.

A more serious doubt than schematic or doctrinaire is issued by Bultmann, who says categorically: "The stories of the calling of the first

4. Leaney, Luke, page 54.

5. C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, II, pages 73-76; see also B.S. Easton, The Gospel According to St. Luke.

6. V. Taylor, Mark, pages 167-8.

7. M. Goguel, The Life of Jesus, pages 323-5.

8. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, pages 29-31.

9. See C.E.B. Cranfield, Mark, for a discussion of the Petrine background, pages 3-5.

disciples are legends (Mark 1:16-20, 2:14); he who seeks for a historical kernel in them by attempting to explain psychologically the behaviour of the disciples misunderstands them."¹⁰ However, almost to the contrary, Bultmann adds: "But these legends are the historical witness for the meaning of Jesus' message concerning the Kingdom, which tears men up by the roots from their business life and social relationship."¹¹ He seems to be saying in the latter what the message of Jesus does do and in the former that it does not do it. Precisely because the message does demand such a shattering break with old ties can historical worth be attached to these callings. Under other circumstances they are unintelligible. Certainly the disciples who were called would have cause to remember the event,¹² and the wealth of detail enhances such a speculation. The metaphor "fishers of men" would not likely be used unless in close connection with the occupation of the disciples.¹³ A further comment might be added: "The presence of such details as ἀντιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ and καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα and the mention of Zebedee and the hired servants, the fact that Peter is himself directly concerned...all these things encourage us to believe that here we have a Petrine story and are near to an actual eye-witness account."¹⁴

The examination of the evidence seems to assess the event as authentic. Although there is no doubt that it is presented in a doctrinaire and schematic manner.

However, it is this doctrinaire presentation which leads to one of two reflections on discipleship to be presented here. Namely, Jesus intends to exert his authority over these men in a most unusual way. For even after the assumption is made that Peter and his companions knew Jesus prior to the call or perhaps were already converted by him,¹⁵ the event is no less dramatic. Jesus still, without obvious forewarning, interrupts their daily activity and lives with his authority and summons.

But one may question whether there is any special authority involved

10. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, page 37.

11. Ibid.

12. Taylor, Life and Ministry of Jesus, page 65.

13. Cranfield, Mark, page 68.

14. Cranfield, Mark, page 68; shared by Taylor, Mark, pages 167-8; Schmidt, against Bultmann and Dibelius.

15. Goguel, Life, pages 323-5.

in the story. The common practice of the rabbis was to call their disciples.¹⁶ It was so well established that one may say: "After me is almost a technical term for discipleship, Jewish teachers called their disciples to follow them: one would ^{not} presume to follow without an invitation."¹⁷ And Jesus was a rabbi in some sense of the word.¹⁸ F.C. Grant takes this reasoning further and makes the call seem more like an invitation to become a university scholar: "Mark does not mean to suggest that James and John were making any special sacrifice in order to follow Jesus."¹⁹ This is based on the fact that Zebedee still had servants in the boat to care for him; Grant is, however, overlooking the fact that the men were uprooted from their previous occupational and social relationships. They were not aspiring scholars.

Despite the question of the rabbinicall, there is special authority quite evident. One reason for the assumption is Luke's phrasing; "As soon as they had brought the boats to land, they left everything and followed him"(verse 11,NEB). The very sacrifices they made, noted by almost every commentator, indicate a note of new and unusual authority. Yet sacrifice in itself does not prove the authority. Another factor added to the argument seems enough to assure even the skeptic that an unusual amount of authority was intentionally exerted by Jesus. He does not explain, beyond the rather enigmatic "fishers of men", what is involved. The disciples of a rabbi would expect to learn of the Law and through daily contact with the teacher have their character and outlook shaped by him.²⁰ But,although Jesus might be called rabbi, it is the usual observation of the people that he had authority, was a wonder-worker, and had deep prophetic interest in the coming of Kingdom of God. Certainly he had been in Capernaum and these men knew him, but "...they did not know his real nature or purpose; that only came home to them after long association with him. They must have thought on him as another John..."²¹ Here is the crux of the matter. Not

16. B. H. Branscomb, Mark, page 27.

17. F. C. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 658.

18. Bultmann, Jesus, pages 57-61.

19. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 659.

20. Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, VII, pages 275-6.

21. T. H. Robinson, The Gospel of Matthew, pages 23-4.

only does he ask for an interruption of the standing order; he assumes that his authority is sufficient for demanding discipleship without the ultimate objectives in sight.²²

The initial consideration set by the call of the first disciples is that Jesus intentionally used his authority to summon these men. This is not unlike the display of authority evident in the Son of Man sayings already discussed. The second point follows logically upon the first. From the nature of the tradition, is any purpose evident in the call? The answer seems to be positive. Jesus calls these fishermen for a specific reason. Montefiore takes the initial step in securing the purpose by observing that Jesus' ministry was one of redemption, healing, and salvation.²³ That Jesus wished the disciples to share in such a ministry would seem to be the next conclusion.²⁴ They are called with authority so that, presumably after training, they may proclaim the mighty works and wonders of the coming Kingdom. This means the purpose behind Jesus' action was partially pragmatic. The Kingdom was at hand and its powers were being made manifest. He needed reapers for the harvest. Although this conclusion is a natural one to draw, there is a further and perhaps more significant purpose for the calling. Jesus says "follow me". The implication being that they are called basically to be with him. Carrington admirably sums up the purpose behind the call in both aspects.

They are called from their labours to follow Jesus, and they leave everything to do so. It is the first step along that road of personal adherence to Jesus which becomes eventually the way of the cross; and the element of sacrifice already appears; they give up everything and identify their lives with his in the adventure of the gospel.

The story has a powerful evangelical appeal in it, which is concentrated in two words 'Follow me'; and the word of mystery which gives this saying its force is the word 'me'. It is a purely personal appeal, without any theological explanation... There is a 'me' and 'my' vocabulary which recurs in some of the

22. One is reminded of Abraham, who sets out with a similar lack of knowledge to establish a new people.

23. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 29.

24. Robinson, Matthew, page 24; Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, pages 275-6.

most intimate parts of Mark's narrative,
and sometimes carries the whole weight of
the gospel as it does here. 25

Carrington significantly notes that to "repent" and "believe", a
new word has been added, "follow".

From Mark 1:16-20 and Matthew 4:17-25 two precedents concerning dis-
cipleship emerge. (i) Jesus wilfully used his authority to take the ini-
tiative in calling these men.²⁶ (ii) He intended that they should be with
him and serve also in the proclamation and work of the Kingdom.

Following closely upon this incident is the calling of the publican
who is referred to both as Levi and Matthew. In Matthew 9:9, the publican
is named Matthew, while Mark 2:13-14 and Luke 5:27-28 call him Levi. La-
grange overcomes the difficulty of the two names in a most delightful way
with the suggestion that Mark and Luke wish to spare Matthew. This being
necessary because even the early Church was astonished that Jesus would so
honour a mean publican.²⁷ Therefore, Mark and Luke use Matthew's less well-
known double name of Levi. This suggestion draws marks for ingenuity but not
for probability. More probable is the idea of redaction which was done by
one who knew of no Levi holding a position of importance.²⁸ This is also
more likely than Carrington's idea that Levi took a new name at the time of
the calling.²⁹ The latter notion might be acceptable were it not for the
strong manuscript support given later to the name James, which is best ex-
plained by a lack of knowledge concerning the "Apostolic College" between
60 and 100 A.D.³⁰ The probability of redaction becomes stronger due to
such little evidence concerning the identity of Levi, who may never have
"become a member of the inner circle."³¹

There can be no doubt that the event was rather fuzzy in detail, and
the synoptics do little to sharpen the focus. But, there does seem to
be adequate reason to reject Bultmann's theory that it is an ideal story,³²

25. Carrington, Mark, page 47. 26. Cranfield, Mark, page 71.

27. M. J. Lagrange, The Gospel of Jesus Christ, pages 138-9.

28. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, pages 570.

29. Carrington, Mark, page 62. 30. Taylor, Mark, pages 201-3.

31. Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, page 108.

32. Bultmann, Jesus, page 37.

thus removing its historical character. For although the tradition lacks clarity in regard to ^{the} man's name and position, it does assert without question that Jesus called a publican to be a disciple. Bultmann says on one occasion: "For the certainty with which the Christian community puts the eschatological preaching into the mouth of Jesus is hard to understand if he did not really preach it."³³ This is a strong argument and may be paraphrased in this instance. For the certainty with which the Christian community puts the call of a publican into the mouth of Jesus is hard to understand if he did not really call a publican. Certainly association with publicans and other such "outcasts" is a very firmly attested part of the ministry of Jesus.

As the Synoptics relate the call, it bears out two precedents which have been suggested. Jesus uses his authority to call Levi, who perhaps sacrifices more than the others for he has no fishing boats to use for security.³⁴ And the words "follow me" assume the prominent position.

However, a third point, not obvious in the first call, comes to light. The beginning of the recognition of the new element comes in Lagrange's suggestion concerning the name of the publican. Publicans were not highly regarded by the Jews. They had intimate dealings with the Gentile who did not care for such things as the Jewish laws of ceremonial cleanness.³⁵ This is not to mention their obvious inclination to theft or unlawful taxation (Zaccheus). Levi, therefore, stands outside the fold; he is a sinner and more. Because Levi is so placed, the calling has a special significance. Taylor, Carrington, and especially Bornkamm and Schweizer expound its meaning.

Taylor: Closely connected with the teaching concerning God was the joyous message that His love is extended to the unworthy...In harmony with it was the action of Jesus in calling Levi... 36

Carrington: His call marks a new phase in the gospel movement, its extension to the outcasts of Israel... 37

33. Bultmann, Jesus, page 124.

34. Taylor, Mark, pages 201-3.

35. Filson, Matthew, page 119.

36. Taylor, Life and Ministry of Jesus, page 79.

37. Carrington, Mark, page 63.

Bornkamm: But this time it is a tax-collector who is called, and thus Jesus' call represents a breaking of the barriers between the clean and the unclean, and becomes an act of grace. 38

Schweizer: Grace becomes an event in such a calling. The question whether or not Jesus himself expressly promised the forgiveness of sins is far less relevant than the fact that by his actions he has brought the forgiveness of sin as an actual event. 39

The third point is that Jesus intended the call to discipleship to be an act of grace in which all previous barriers separating the person called from God would be removed. Discipleship then means new life, as is well illustrated by the third call to be examined.

This call is one not usually viewed in the same light as the call of Peter or Levi. It is Jesus' invitation to the "rich young ruler" (Mark 10: 17-27, Matthew 19:16-20, Luke 18:18-27). The story as presented in Mark has a wealth of detail not necessarily common to the pronouncement-story of the form critic.⁴⁰ Such details as the salutation "Good Master", the knowledge of the fact that he was a rich man, that Jesus looked upon him and loved him, and that his "face fell", indicate strong historical worth. Bultmann, however, does look upon the event as a product of the community. He assumes that if it were spoken of some other person it would scarcely be regarded as historical.⁴¹ Still there is stronger attestation of historical authenticity. Jesus fails in his effort to make a disciple. The invitation was "...a gift, Jesus offers himself to him."⁴² Obviously Jesus tries to win the man, he loved him in a special sense and extended a personal invitation to discipleship.⁴³ But, the man prefers his wealth to Jesus. Thus in a sense Jesus fails in this personal endeavour. It seems unlikely that there would be created a story, which although it illustrates the danger of wealth, showing a sympathizer or would-be disciple rejecting Jesus after such a personal appeal.

38. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, page 146.

39. E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, page 14.

40. Taylor, Mark, page 424.

41. Bultmann, History, pages 54-5.

42. Cranfield, Mark, page 330.

43. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, pages 863-4; B. S. Easton, What Jesus Taught, pages 84, 108.

"Jesus answer, you know the commands, is proof of His acceptance of the Mosaic law as containing the divine law adequate for salvation if properly understood and obeyed."⁴⁴ "Jesus is not inviting him to take a step beyond the Commandments to something higher than their requirements⁴⁵." As the quotes above indicate, commentators have tended to stress Jesus' attitude toward the Law as the significant content of the episode. To this is normally added Jesus' fear of great wealth. No doubt the story does deal with Jesus' acceptance of the "commands" as God-given and also with his concern over riches. But, to assume that Jesus does not go beyond the commandments is to miss the point. So the commands, which the ruler has kept from childhood, cause him to go away sorrowing? Is he asked to sell his possessions and give to the poor only because then he will be in the proper position to keep the commandments? Commandments and the selling of goods lead to another significant requirement: "follow me". He must give up his riches neither solely for the commandments nor for eternal life. The sacrifice is required as a prerequisite to discipleship in which the man's yearning would be fulfilled.⁴⁶ "No, what makes the rich man fail is the call of the kingdom of God that now goes out to him in the call to follow Jesus."⁴⁷ The fundamental issue then is neither the Mosaic law nor riches, but discipleship. And this fundamental element is the key to eternal life, or one might say it is the means of grace. How does the rich man find life, only in discipleship to Jesus. The call to discipleship is the full offer of grace.

The three precedents set above reappear in this abortive call. (i) Jesus does expect to use his authority to the extreme with this total demand upon the wealthy man. (ii) Jesus intends to make the call possessive ("me" and "my" vocabulary) which is evident from καὶ δεῦρα ἀκολουθεῖ μοι. (iii) As in the case of Levi, Jesus intends the call to discipleship to be an act of grace.

44. Branscomb, Mark, page 182.

45. Cranfield, Mark, page 330.

46. Taylor, Mark, page 429.

47. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 148.

(ii) The Expectations of the Disciples

There are not enough passages in the Synoptics dealing with the disciples' opinion of Jesus to draw final conclusions from them. At any rate their opinions had obviously not completely crystalized even by the time of the Passion. Among the most highly controversial passages is Peter's confession, which supposedly summed up the general feelings of the group. Many critics, past, present and no doubt future, see or will see this as purely post-Resurrection material. Perhaps this is the case, but one making such a decision must be hasty to point out that these men did have convictions. No one can be oblivious to the fact that men do not give allegiance without thought. In Jesus' case they must have questioned his power, potential, person, and perhaps most of all, what he could do for those who followed. The disciples gave serious consideration to the identity of Jesus. Their pre-passion expectations of him may be seen in one question asked by Peter and another asked by the sons of Zebedee (or Salome, their mother).

Peter's question is found in Mark 10:28-31, Matthew 19:27-30, and Luke 18:28-30. It is significant that it follows upon the episode concerning the rich man. He was turned away to the astonishment of the disciples. They felt, as many must have, that a rich man would be in position to perform the sacrifices required by the Law. Peter's question follows naturally, although not necessarily immediately, upon such an incident as presented in the Gospels. "Peter's interjection means that he and his fellow-apostles, who have divested themselves of everything for the sake of Jesus and his cause, ought, therefore, surely to inherit the life eternal."⁴⁸ The question raised by Peter is one seeking after information and confirmation. That is, Peter wants to know the conditions leading to eternal life. However, there is present a selfish motive, which reveals something of a demand as well as a question. Like all religious men and the ruler himself, Peter wanted to know the terms of salvation. And he, as a representative of the other disciples, wanted to know the rewards of discipleship.

⁴⁸. Montefiore, Synoptics, I, page 247.

By some, the question (and passage) is relegated to the "first period of persecution of the infant Church."⁴⁹ It belies the interest of the early Church in the "rewarding of the faithful."⁵⁰ (This must assume that the "faithful" in the midst of the shock of their initial sacrifice had no interest in the "rewarding of the faithful.") Also it is argued that the vocabulary of the passage belongs to the early Church.⁵¹ In the ways mentioned above, the passage is suggested to be due to the interests of the Church in the first period of persecution. But, certainly, as has been indicated, the first disciples would be brought up short time and again with questions concerning the end result of their allegiance to Jesus. And at the same time, the persecuted Church needed, used, and shaped the same question as it appeared in the tradition. Taylor summarizes well: "...it is suggested that, while the saying is coloured by later interests, it is in substance authentic."⁵²

It will be assumed then, from a purely logical point of view, that Peter wanted to know the relationship between sacrificial discipleship and eternal life. That Jesus laid down a positive relationship between the two is also logically assumed. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why the disciples would continue to follow at such a personal cost. So regardless of later additions to the basic story, a conclusion may be drawn. The disciples not only expected Jesus to know the terms of salvation but to have the authority to work them out. This may be predicated on Jesus' own desire to equate discipleship to entrance into God's grace.

The next question to be examined is the one asked by James and John. The whole attitude of the question tends to be revolting. James and John are seeking only their personal well-being, and if Matthew is right they are cowardly since they approach Jesus through their mother.⁵³ And since they "may have hoped that Jesus would go to Jerusalem as Messiah, drive

49. Montefiore, Synoptics, I, page 248.

50. Bultmann, Jesus, p. 134.

51. Branscomb, Mark, pp. 184-5 (e.g. persecution for the sake of the gospel).

52. Taylor, Mark, p. 433.

53. Carrington, Mark, p. 218. See T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, 1955, pp. 313-5, where he notes that the activity of James and John is much like an intrigue in some oriental palace, a suggestion which further enhances the idea that the disciples had high expectations.

out the Romans and reign in glory,"⁵⁴ they misunderstood the mission. It is not likely that a tradition so defaming to the character of these disciples would have been reported without a basis in fact.⁵⁵ The positions of James and John in the early Church do not correspond to this kind of request. Indeed the idea of authority in the primitive community does not seem to be reflected in the desire for position expressed by the two disciples.

Taylor gives an adequate statement of the difficulties attached to the saying.⁵⁶ But since the details and fine points of the episode are not in question here, they will not be examined. What is of importance is the general aspect of the event as stated by Branscomb.

The story does not, in its main request and answer, seem to be a natural product of early Christian piety.

Unless the narrative be rejected on general grounds, it is important evidence of the expectations and hopes of the inner group of disciples. They believed that their leader was the one who would be at the head of the New Age when it appeared, and they expressed their hopes plainly in Him. As maintained above, it does not seem that Jesus would have allowed them to continue these beliefs had he regarded them as without foundation. 57

Through the expectations and questions of the disciples it is possible to see their respect for Jesus' authority and their further identification with his purpose. In Jesus' reply to Peter the connection between discipleship and grace is more clearly drawn.

(iii) The Separation of the Disciples

Can there be any believable justification for the hypothesis that Jesus prepared his disciples to take prominent positions in the religion of the day? Perhaps he trained these men to become only teachers in their own right. Thus they would be prepared just to teach Jesus' interpretation of the Law and faith in general. Eduard Schweizer gives a strong "no" to such a thesis:

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54. Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, VII. p. 494.
 55. Cranfield, Mark, pp. 336-7.
 56. Taylor, Mark, pp. 438-9.
 57. Branscomb, Mark, p. 188.

But such a decision for or against him will determine the decision in the Last Judgement. This is why the disciple who follows Jesus never expected to cease following and become a master himself, and to gather disciples round him; as the disciples of a rabbi was wont to do. 58

Certainly the general impression of the tradition leads to no positive statement. Jesus does not seem to have fitted these men to become Jewish leaders. When the ministry is over they seem ill-prepared to return to the normal religious pattern (although they may have attempted to do so through worship in the Temple). They are much like a boy, who once having removed the works of a clock, is never quite able to fit all the pieces together again. If the tradition does not indicate that Jesus specially trained them to be leaders of the traditional faith, what did he intend for them? Without referring to a specific mission, it is possible to say that he separated them from what they had previously experienced as the accepted order.

That such a separation occurred or was made inevitable may be seen by an adjustment of observation point. Jesus' life was a divisive one. Usually the conflicts and divisions caused by his life are looked upon in some such manner as: Jesus against the Pharisees or against the family. But in addition to the viewpoint just mentioned, the reaction of the disciples must be obtained. They may remain in the background of the conflicts and divisions. They obviously do not bear the brunt of the opposition. But, they are more seriously influenced by the conflicts and divisions of Jesus' ministry than any one else. And the conflicts and divisions of Jesus' ministry must be seen from the disciples' perspective. For, although it may be questioned that Jesus intended to divide them from the true Israel, without doubt he made them a part of the controversies and conflicts of his own experiences which separated them from normative Judaism.

First of all the disciples observed the effects of Jesus' proclamation and activity. He was opposed by his own family, Nazareth, the

58. Schweizer, Lordship, p. 21. This must be seen in the light of the fact that the disciples never expected to be equal to Jesus.

Pharisees, the Herodians, the Sadducees, and at one point the disciples of John. The disciples must have felt the divisive impact of Jesus through this rejection at Nazareth (Mark 1:14,15; 6:1-6) and by his family (Mark 3: 20-1).

(a) The rejection at Nazareth (Mark 1:14,15; 6:1-6; Matthew 13: 53-58; Luke 4: 14-30). Matthew follows closely upon Mark; Luke gives the story added details and a new place in the ministry. He adds the unhistorical material of "exaggerated wrath" and the attempt to murder.⁵⁹ Perhaps the elements are added because Nazareth was unfriendly or hostile to Christianity in Luke's day.⁶⁰ The incident is placed at the beginning because Nazareth looks forward to Jerusalem.⁶¹ Luke reworks the material and emerges with a lack of unity and consistency. "This is not surprising when we consider how Luke has used the intractable material of a story of rejection to convey a proclamation of achievement."⁶² Mark, to his credit, does not so handle the material; he leaves a simple statement of rejection. Even so, is the event historical? Holtzmann says that in view of Jesus' failure there is "good evidence for the historical character of Mark's narrative."⁶³ Bultmann, to the contrary, says the story is spun out of the saying about a prophet not without honour except in his own home.⁶⁴ Logically, one would want to know why a framework would be created for a rather worthless saying? Why does it speak of Jesus' failure? Why by implication does it discredit Jesus' family? Taylor says of Bultmann's theory:

This hypothesis is surely a Musterbeispiel of subjective criticism. In it justice is not done to the realism of the narrative: the naming of the brothers, the mention of the sisters, the reflection in the word 'kin' upon those who were subsequently prominent in the Church, the implication that Jesus could not heal in the absence of faith, his genuine surprise at unbelief. These features mark genuine tradition. 65

59. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, page 875.

60. Easton, Luke, pages 50,54.

61. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, page 873.

62. Leaney, Luke, pages 117-120.

63. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 119.

64. R. Bultmann, Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, page 30.

65. Taylor, Mark, page 298 (cites Branscomb, Weiss, Dibelius).

That such an awkward incident is a construction is impossible to justify.⁶⁶ Thus Mark's account is acceptable history. Jesus realized no success in Nazareth. He was rejected.

Carrington says this was an "awkward" fact for the Church in Mark's time.⁶⁷ No doubt this was both awkward and amazing to Jesus and the people of Nazareth. Jesus' family stayed away, indicating that they felt the situation to be strained. But, what of the disciples? Awkward could hardly describe their concern. After all they had given allegiance to Jesus, and it would be absurd to say that it was absolutely unquestioning allegiance. The fact of Jesus' rejection at Nazareth must have been constantly before them. Perhaps it can be said that the first effect of a subsequent process had been realized here. They see in the events of Nazareth that Jesus does and says things which are divisive. To the astonishment of Jesus and no doubt his disciples, the people of Nazareth rejected his claim to authority.

(b) Jesus' family attempts to restrain him (Mark 3:20-1). The historicity of the event hardly needs argument. The primitive Church would not have invented such a thing, and the only reason for its place in Mark is its occurrence.⁶⁸ The family was coming because of the thought that Jesus' action indicated he was beside himself, ἐξέστη, perhaps with "spiritual exaltation and excitement."⁶⁹ They intend: κρατήσονται αὐτόν (translated "to take charge of him" NEB). "To take charge of him" is a strong phrase but correct. They do not come to consult or suggest. In Mark 6:17, 12:12, 14:1, 44, 46, 50 κρατήσονται has the meaning of arrest. "This is the meaning here. The family wants to get hold of Jesus, to take control of his actions..."⁷⁰ That κρατήσονται αὐτόν has such a meaning is assured by its combination with ἐξέστη ("a state of dangerous mental exaltation...characteristic

66. Carrington, Mark, page 122.

67. Ibid.

68. Carrington, Mark, page 135; also Burkitt in JTS, Vol. xvii, 1915, page 11. "Admittedly the motif of v.21 cannot be derived simpliciter from the saying in v.35, but it manifestly rests upon good and ancient tradition. That such a tradition operated in the formulations of the Church I obviously have no doubts at all." Bultmann, History, page 30.

69. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 91.

70. Taylor, Mark, page 236.

of certain religious enthusiasts, exorcists, and miracle workers...").⁷¹
 Before proceeding with the possible effect of the incident upon the disciples, there is the question of the meaning of οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ (NEB "family"; AV "friends"; RSV "friends"). "family" has the support of most commentators.⁷²
 In the light of other events it seems the most logical (such as John 7:5 where Jesus' brothers do not believe; Mark 3:31-5, the saying about the true family, which indicates a tension between Jesus and his family; and Mary, according to Mark, is neither at the grave nor the crucifixion).⁷³
 The family then regard Jesus as "spiritually insane" and as one to be taken "charge of".⁷⁴

From the viewpoint of the twentieth century Christian, the incident reveals a lack of perception by Jesus' family, which was presumably later corrected. They appear to be worried and alarmed. But familiarity with the record has dulled the astonishment which this incident should evoke. Jesus' family thought him a madman, and they thought so because of his religious convictions. Yet the disciples followed him precisely because of those same religious convictions. If one should be astonished now, they might well have been dismayed or mortified. They knew of a rejection by his own village and his family's desire not to lend him support; but now they know that his family despises his activity, believe him to be insane, and deter-

71. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 689.

72. Taylor, Mark, page 236. Cites: Holtzmann, Klostermann, Gould, Swete, Rawlinson, Bartlett, Plummer, Branscomb, Wood.

73. Branscomb, Mark, page 68; Taylor, Mark, pages 236-7.

74. There is room for speculation here concerning the message of Jesus and his self-assertion. Dornkamm says: "What is essential is the indissoluble connection between what has been said here and Jesus' message about the reality of God, his kingdom and will... This is why his own people thought him mad" (page 62, Jesus). One might go further, the implication is not so much disagreement with the message itself; perhaps it is his assumption of authority with the message that is the offence. Hugh Anderson (Jesus and Christian Origins, page 164) in discussing an essay by W. C. van Unnik on Jesus' messianic consciousness refers to Mark 3:21 in the following way: "The question asked instead by van Unnik is whether the attribution of the title 'Messiah' to him rested on something in his life. He finds that 'something', on the basis of such texts as Matthew 11:5, Luke 11:20, and Mark 3:21, to lie in the peculiar spiritual power in which he did his works and from which his words derived their special authority."

mine to take charge of him. One can hardly reckon the full impact of this upon their minds. To say that close association and allegiance to one rejected by town and family on religious grounds is preparation for a position in the normal social and religious pattern is impossible. Here, with frightful candor, they must realize and be distressed by the divisive nature of his person, message, and ministry.

One cannot fully know the real significance of these dual rejections without sympathy for the point of view of the disciples. A breach begins to appear, and it is ever widened. To see the widening of the breach it is necessary to move on to other conflicts in the life of Jesus and therefore, in the life of the disciples who were so closely associated with him.

(c) The Meal with Sinners (Mark 2:13-17, Matthew 9:9-13, Luke 5:29-32, also see above pages 63-65). The comments from various interpretations of the incident are interesting: "It was a scandal";⁷⁵ "The offence He thus occasioned";⁷⁶ (it was) "among the 'things that shame a pupil of the scribes' (Berakoth 43b)";⁷⁷ "a breach of the received conventionalities".⁷⁸ Scandal, offence, shame, and breach are harsh terms but reveal the nature of the act. Montefiore points out, in connection with this incident, that Jesus was condemned and hated because he broke the Law and justified his action.⁷⁹ Carrington, in a summary of the event, explains how such an incident might easily lead to condemnation and hatred.

All household meals were sacred meals among the Jews. Always the father broke the bread and uttered the benediction. It was the sacrament of family life and also of the religious fellowship or haburah. In Pharisaic circles the Levitical law was taken with great seriousness, and the admission of 'sinners' to such a meal was unthinkable. The Pharisee theology was based on the idea of pure and impure, and the admission into the circle... of any person who was unclean would destroy its holy character and therefore its stand-

75. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 673.

76. Creed, Luke, page 81.

77. Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, page 109.

78. Easton, Luke, page 69.

79. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, pages 53-57.

ing with God. Jesus had crossed that line of demarcation and the Pharisees were genuinely shocked. 80

That Jesus associated with "sinners" is well-established in the tradition, as is this particular incident.⁸¹ Further reason to accept it as historically authentic is that just such events as this gave rise to the saying: "Look at him! a glutton and a drinker, a friend of tax-gatherers and sinners!" (NEB, Luke 7:34). No doubt the disciples were shocked by the event. Even Peter, after the resurrection, seemed unable to remove the control of Jewish table laws from his actions. And regardless of their personal convictions on specific matters, they were identified by choice with Jesus. It is no wonder that they are questioned, by those concerned, about Jesus' presumptuous activity. A feeling of division and separation must have arisen here. In this circumstance their own reflections and fears are enhanced by outside criticism directed at Jesus through them. He had crossed the line of demarcation, and they had felt the sting of the rebuke levelled at him.

(d) The Question of Fasting (Mark 2:18-20, Matthew 9:14f., Luke 5:33-35). This question perhaps should not be classified as a clash between the disciples of Jesus and those of John or the Pharisees. But it is a controversy over an important religious matter. As the incident has been handed on through the tradition it has lost the details of time and place.⁸² Thus it is impossible to know what fast, if any specific one, was involved. The day of Atonement was the only obligatory fast.⁸³ But the Pharisees fasted twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays.⁸⁴ And, in addition, there were fasts commemorative of historical events.⁸⁵ "...the mention of the Pharisees coupled with the disciples of John confirms the impression that it is

80. Carrington, Mark, page 64; also Tödt, Son of Man, page 115: "This establishing of a fellowship with sinners which to a Jew who faithfully observes the Law means a most serious defilement, is designated by Jesus in Mark 2:17 as his most particular task."

81. Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, page 109.

82. Taylor, Mark, pages 208-9.

83. Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 354.

84. Taylor, Mark, page 209.

85. Ibid.

the ordinary practice of fasting which is here under discussion."⁸⁶ Since it is impossible to know for sure what fast is involved,⁸⁷ the ordinary practice of fasting will serve as the background of the controversy. The substance of the controversy appears to be historical,⁸⁸ although the discussion concerning the bridegroom is sometimes suspect. The latter element may be an addition to justify fasting in the early Church.⁸⁹ The historicity of such a controversy is insured by the combination of facts.

(1) "Luke nowhere, and, one may say, the gospels nowhere, report our Lord as enjoining fasting. At 4:2 Luke even avoids the technical word 'fasted'.⁹⁰

(2) Fasting was a practice of the religious life: "Very devout persons fasted twice in the week, on the days...that were marked by special synagogue services...And these synagogue services were naturally supplemented with special private devotions."⁹¹ Some sort of controversy appears to have been inevitable.

Such a controversy appears trivial enough from the distance of many centuries and in a culture that does not take fasting with genuine seriousness. But the religious Jew of Jesus' day was serious about fasting. It was fundamental to the nature of the religious life. Yet Jesus does not fast and does not admonish his disciples to do so. And since they are apparently trying to be religious men, the controversy is on. The question is put to the disciples: "Why do you not fast as other people do?" To a group of men experiencing a definite breach with old customs and ways, the question is not trivial. It marked another phase of their separation from normative Judaism.

(c) Two Sabbath Controversies. First to be examined is the discussion concerning the plucking of grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23-6, Matthew 12: 1-4, Luke 6:1-4). Taylor sees no valid reason to assume that the story is the framework for the saying as Bultmann does.⁹² Montefiore suggests

86. Creed, Luke, page 83.

87. Taylor, Mark, page 209.

88. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 59.

89. Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, page 109.

90. Leaney, Luke, page 128.

91. Easton, Luke, page 70.

92. Taylor, Mark, pages 214-5.

that Bultmann's words are worth weighing "but are by no means conclusive."⁹³ The authenticity of the event is difficult to determine. In view of the other controversies of Jesus' ministry, it is likely to have occurred. However, it should not be made to bear too much weight in specific detail.

The issue in question seems simple enough. "To pluck ears of grain was technically to reap, 'to eat involved threshing...These are two of the thirty-nine principle classes of work that were not lawful...on the Sabbath (Exod. 34:21; Shabbath 7:2)."⁹⁴ Thus the disciples violate the Law, or at least the rabbinic interpretation of it.⁹⁵ Much comment has gone into showing what an emancipating effect Jesus' interpretation has had. This is done in distinction to the dangers of a narrow legalism. But such a concentration of interest is quite likely to miss the main point, which involves more than a discussion of Sabbath observance.

Montefiore notes, quite accurately, that the analogy concerning David is not applicable. The disciples, unlike David, were not in any urgent need of food.⁹⁶ To this Montefiore adds:

He (Jesus) does not say that to pick corn is not 'work'. He does in a subsequent passage distinguish between the Biblical laws and the Rabbinical or traditional laws, but here he takes higher ground. He seems to concede that a breach of the Law has taken place; only it is an excusable and proper breach, and may be taken to illustrate the higher principle according to which the Sabbath should be observed. 97

One must admit the truth of Montefiore's observation and especially for the disciples' involvement. Unless stressed by the interpreter, a typical Jew of Jesus' time would not be likely, on any account, to distinguish between the rabbinical interpretation of the Law and the Law itself. After all the rabbinical interpretation of the Law was the traditional one, as here represented by the Pharisees. And there does not seem to have been

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93. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, pages 61-2.

94. Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 391.

95. Leaney, Luke, page 130

96. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 62.

97. Ibid., page 64.

much disturbance over the main points of Sabbath observance. "It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that, in spite of the many restrictions and regulations, the Sabbath was upon the whole a joy and blessing to the immense majority of Jews throughout the Rabbinic period."⁹⁸

Montefiore thus leads to the main point at issue but is reluctant to state it. He speaks of "an excusable breach of the Law." Certainly it is difficult to imagine that a representative of traditional Judaism of that day could speak of any excusable breach of the Law. No such breach, without a scriptural precedent or analogy, would be accepted. No, Jesus assumes he has the authority to justify such a breach, and he condones it. The real question then becomes: "Who has a right to justify such a breach of the "Law?" So the disciples do not view one interpretation among many. They see Jesus use his authority, to breach the Law, as opposed to the formal and general interpretation of the Sabbath. In other words, for the disciples the conflict is whether or not Jesus has the right to justify their actions. If they believe he does they are set dead against a formal and apparently generally accepted interpretation of the Law.

Next to be examined is the healing on the Sabbath(Mark 3:1-6,Matthew 12:9-14, Luke 6:6-11). Taylor believes it to be an original story and to contain a tradition based on anyeyewitness account.⁹⁹ Yet it is one of those incidents that is mainly accepted or rejected according to the readers predisposition to the tradition and his general attitude toward its historicity. Let it suffice to say that the ministry of Jesus would allow room for such an event. And it will be assumed that Jesus did heal on the Sabbath, and naturally enough with the opposition^{it} of the Pharisees.¹⁰⁰

Bornkamm, in commenting on these passages and others concerning the Sabbath controversies notes: "For the governing principle of his(Jesus') argument is: 'The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath' (Mark 11.27). For this to come from the lips of an ordinary rabbi is

98. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, pages 63-4.

99. Taylor, Mark, page 220.

100. Ibid.

without parallel.¹⁰¹ But Montefiore relates (following Abrahams' Studies I. chap. xvii): "The Rabbinical literature contains an almost identical saying: 'Unto you is the Sabbath given over, and you are not given over unto the Sabbath.'" ¹⁰² Thus, seen through the eyes of a Jew, the difference in interpretation is not so great as the Gospels would appear to make it. But something more basic caused the controversy^s. To follow Montefiore further reveals that cause. He observes: Jesus does not meet the point but rather evades it. Then Jesus becomes casuistic. His argument seems to be based on the life and death principle of the traditional interpretation. But he could have postponed the healing because life or death was not the case.¹⁰³ And the principle of "good or evil" means that every action is based on its own merit. In addition to his consideration of the argument of Jesus, Montefiore adds: "Note the strong expression 'with anger'. He considers their heart hard because they do not believe in him and do not recognize the force of his argument."¹⁰⁴

The paragraph above makes it clear that the basis of this controversy is more than a governing principle or an argument over interpretation. The principle is found in the literature of the accusers and accepted by them. The argument of Jesus is itself too weak and perhaps casuistic as Montefiore says. The added ingredient is "they do not believe in him." This need not be pressed to Messianic consciousness. But, it does indicate that Jesus, in immediate opposition to the normal interpretation of Sabbath work, could set up a principle to govern activity. And further he felt he had the right to say what actions could be considered good or a "justifiable breach" of the Law.

The lengthy discussion of the two passages on Sabbath observance has attempted to illustrate one point. The battle or controversy was not only of ideas but of personalities. It gains in force because Jesus asserts his authority and because they do not "believe in him". The disci-

101. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 97.

102. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 64.

103. Ibid., pages 81-2.

104. Ibid.

ples are attached as closely to Jesus' person as to his message; this is seen in the fact that they follow when they do not fully understand the meaning of what Jesus says. Thus for them it must have been a moment which was almost purely a personality conflict and not simply one of ideas. So for the disciples it was not a debate or a learned discussion, it was a conflict, a divisive conflict. Jesus' opponents reject him in his claim to authority. In the heat of the controversy could the disciples have expected less? With Jesus' rejection they must have felt their own.

(f) Two Symbolic Sayings: New Wine and New Patch (Mark 2:21-2, Matthew 9:16 17, Luke 5:36-9); "I bring a sword" (Luke 12:49-50, Matthew 10:34-6, 16:1-4).

In this section dealing with the separation of the disciples from the "normal" order, sayings have not been stressed. Events to which the disciples were witnesses or in which they were involved have been reviewed. Sayings have been made to assume little weight. This was done because many of the sayings will be investigated below and also because the events in themselves contain much which illuminates the disciples' participation in the controversies. However, with the background of the controversies outlined above, it may be possible to examine the two "symbolic" and often disputed sayings.

(1) The New Wine and the New Patch. The verses are appended here by Mark, and thus they are out of their original context.¹⁰⁵ And the similies are open to several interpretations.¹⁰⁶ Despite the variety of interpretations, Taylor's judgement seems to hold concerning their basic nature. "The sentiments they express are revolutionary..."¹⁰⁷ The question arises as to how revolutionary Jesus was. Could he have actually meant that the old wine-skins were Judaism and his message something which Judaism could not contain?

This question is very important in relation to the establishment of a new order beyond that of "old" Israel. Initially it should be noted that Jesus was a Jew and indebted to his religious heritage which included both the Torah and the Temple, the priest and the prophet. He relies upon and uses this tradition, but it does not mean that one is correct to say: "Je-

105. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, pages 676-7.

106. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, page 64.

107. Taylor, Mark, page 212.

Jesus himself 'remained steadfast to the old Torah: till his dying day he continued to observe the ceremonial laws like a true Pharisaic Jew.'"¹⁰⁸ Such a statement is adequately answered by E. Kasemann who says: "Whoever contests that what enters a man can defile him challenges the pre-suppositions and the letter of the Torah and the authority of Moses himself."'¹⁰⁹ Bornkamm adds: "In the...question of divorce there is an openly declared criticism of the law of Moses."¹¹⁰

Additions may be made to the two verses mentioned above. (i) If Jesus was so devoted to the ceremonial laws of the Pharisaic Jews, why did he eat with Levi and his associates? (ii) Where does the dismay of the family arise? The only logical answer is, of course, that he was saying and doing things in opposition to the established religion. (iii) Montefiore's plausible suggestion was that Jesus was condemned and hated because he broke the Law and justified his actions. (iv) He established new principles of Sabbath observance. (v) Jesus felt he was possessed of authority and a mission to perform. Without a discussion of Messianic consciousness, one may see his authority exerted in the call of the disciples, the pronouncement, "But I say unto you", and that unexpected preparatory work "Amen".¹¹¹ The authority was no doubt attached to the presence or the coming of the kingdom of God. And it is hardly likely, in view of his authority, that he would not have superseded the old Israel. And due to his sense of urgency, it is again not likely that he would have been tied to the old. In a consideration of all these points suggested, one must agree with Menzies who says: "The movement Jesus has set on foot is a fresh and growing thing; it is impossible to set limits to its expansion, irrational to confine it to forms which were not made for it."¹¹²

The saying then is justified and does explain what happens in Jesus' ministry. While in some ways he does hold to the old religion, and like-

108. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, pages 60-1.

109. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 98.

110. Ibid.

111. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 99; see H. Schlier, TWNT, Bd.I, art., ἀμὴν, pages 340-2.

112. Allan Menzies, The Earliest Gospel, page 88.

wise his disciples do; where he desires and sees it necessary he goes beyond the old. Therefore, by virtue of their commitment, the disciples do the same. The question will receive further discussion in the chapter about the Kingdom of God and the Church.

(2) The saying concerning the sword and the division of families is found in a summary statement about the kind of division the disciples felt. The saying may be representative of a later time. But it suggests the divisive nature of Jesus' person and the redirection of total loyalties he demanded. In his earthly ministry he made the disciples feel the division with the old order and the old loyalties. In view of the verses reviewed in this section it becomes apparent that Jesus separated his disciples from traditional Judaism. He made it impossible for them ever to "return", in the fullest sense of the word, to the "faith". For beyond question he established himself as the deciding factor, and his authority had become all important. His interpretation was not one among many, it was the only one. It was so asserted in his ministry and caused him to be hated, condemned, reckoned insane, rejected, called a friend of sinners, guilty of breaking the law. Thus the disciples were separated in the sense that the old religion could not contain all the authority and interpretation which Jesus claimed.

(iv) The Calling of the Twelve, Their Mission and Return

R. N. Flew, in showing Jesus' intention for the Church, has stressed and expounded the missionary activity of the disciples.¹¹³ Indeed the whole question involving the Twelve, apostleship, and the placing of authority in the hands of the disciples is important for the establishment of the Church. The matter will be discussed here in some detail, with an emphasis upon two observations: (i) The summoning of the Twelve may imply the beginning of a new people of God. Therefore, their calling and their mission must be carefully examined. (ii) The basic function of the disciples includes the relating of the hearers to Jesus. This established a chain

113. Flew, Church, especially pages 106-120.

which might be listed in some such manner as this: God-Jesus-"apostles"-people. These two questions or ideas contain basic principles which relate to Jesus' intention for the Church. The latter will appear again in connection with those sayings dealing with the consequence of receiving or rejecting Jesus.

First the general outlook on the special calling of the Twelve and their mission, the use of the term apostle, and the mission of the seventy will be summarized.

Mark 3:13-19 relates the calling of the Twelve. The narrative tends to be vague, and it may be a construction on the basis of existing tradition.¹¹⁴ It definitely lacks the clarity of detail which distinguishes much of the Gospel of Mark. Bultmann expresses extreme reservation about the calling of the Twelve. He sees 14b-15 as a Markan insertion,¹¹⁵ and this is probably well-based upon the use of "gospel". He also suspects verse 13 as editorial work, which leaves only 14a and 16-19 as possibly pre-Markan. And even these verses, especially the naming of the Twelve, have weak textual support.¹¹⁶ On the whole Bultmann would assess this as simply an editorial formulation.¹¹⁷

Despite this argument, the position illustrated by Schnackenburg can be shown to have support. He maintains that Jesus "began early to gather disciples, as early as the great and successful Galilean ministry and that he then formed his inner group of the twelve (Mark 3:13-19)."¹¹⁸ There are many reasons to believe that Jesus did actually institute the body of the Twelve for some specific or special purpose. (a) The testimony of Paul indicates the pre-Easter existence of the Twelve.¹¹⁹ (b) The inclusion of Judas would not be likely unless the Twelve were instituted by Jesus prior to the betrayal.¹²⁰ (d) The list would not include the name of James,

114. Taylor, Mark, page 229.

115. Bultmann, History, page 391.

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid., page 341.

118. Rudolf Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, page 215.

119. Branscomb, Mark, page 64.

120. Branscomb, Mark, page 64; Bornkamm, Jesus, page 150; Taylor, Mark, page 229.

the Lord's brother.¹²¹ (d) The appearances of the Resurrected Lord to the Twelve indicate their existence prior to the crucifixion.¹²² Some argue that this is not the case, particularly Weiss, because of the insignificant part the Twelve play in the early Church. "The argument may thus be retorted on those who advance it. Why should the Church have canonized after the event so insignificant a body, or attributed to the Lord so unfertile an institution?"¹²³ This is a very valid question and shows that the establishment of the Twelve must have happened prior to the apostolic Church. The only one of the Twelve who does play an outstanding role is Peter. Their place in the early Church was very limited. This makes possible the argument that: "The references to the Twelve make sense only when it is accepted that Jesus chose them, that they were with him during his ministry, and that he used them to extend its outreach."¹²⁴

The question now arises regarding the significance of the Twelve for the Church. Does, as Hort suggests, the group of the disciples represent the Church in the ministry of Jesus? Or should it more properly be said:

The choice of twelve is evidence that Jesus thought of himself as gathering together the true people of God- though it does not, of course, necessarily imply that he envisaged a Church continuing under the condition of historicity through many centuries. 125

Bornkamm agrees that "Jesus' disciples were thus conceived as the new people of God of the last days."¹²⁶ But he adds at a later time: "The founding of the Church is not the work of Jesus on earth, but ^{of} the Risen Lord."¹²⁷ The appointment of the Twelve does not necessarily imply the Church's foundation but it can readily be seen as one of the pieces of raw material from which the Church is built, and although it cannot be proved beyond question that Jesus intended the Twelve to be "his Church", by virtue of their special calling they are given a new communal relationship. So that if the appointment of the Twelve does not necessarily

121. Branscomb, Mark, page 64.

122. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 150; Cranfield, Mark, pages 127-8.

123. A. M. Farrer, "The Ministry in the New Testament", page 119, in K. E. Kirk, Apostolic Ministry.

124. Floyd Filson, A New Testament History, page 109.

125. Cranfield, Mark, page 127.

126. Cranfield, Mark, page 127. 126. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 150. 127. Ibid., page 186.

imply the Church it makes the likelihood of such a fellowship more probable.

Of course in this instance the definition of Church is very important. If Church is seen in terms of an exchatological people of God or as the new Israel, then the appointing of the Twelve is extremely significant. K  mmel has maintained that the Twelve should not be seen as the beginning of the new people of Israel,¹²⁸ however, there may be reason to assume a position to the contrary. As already noted in reference to Cranfield and Bornkamm, the choice of twelve is powerfully symbolic. As Gloege puts it: "The twelve disciples correspond to the twelve patriarchs. The latter are the ancestors of the ancient people of God, the former are the ancestors of the new people of God."¹²⁹ Schnackenburg calls the appointment of the Twelve a "prophetic parable".¹³⁰ Indeed it would seem to be an illusion to all Israel as represented by the twelve tribes. As once Israel had been gathered by the saving work of God, now it would be reconstituted in Jesus' call.¹³¹

This symbolic use of twelve is corroborated by a somewhat similar practice in the Qumran community. Gaster sees it as a "remarkable correspondence with the Twelve Apostles."¹³² The Qumran community did have a council of twelve with an additional three priests, which in the followers of Jesus, Gloege names as Peter, James, and John.¹³³ However, the correspondence between the two should perhaps not be pressed in that manner. Rowley is more nearly correct when he argues: "For the choice of the twelve disciples there is no need to look to Qumran for inspiration. The Old Testament is a sure source for the ideas of Jesus, while the sect of Qumran is at best less sure. The twelve tribes of Israel almost certainly supplied the inspiration for both."¹³⁴

The calling of the Twelve indicates that Jesus envisioned the possibility of a new people of God, a new Israel. His ministry may be viewed

128. K  mmel, "Jesus und die Anf  nge der Kirche", in St. Th. 7 (1953) pages 4,7.

129. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, pages 245-6.

130. Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, page 216.

131. Ibid.

132. T. Gaster, The Scriptures of the Dead Sea, page 44.

133. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, pages 245-6.

134. H. H. Rowley, The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins, page 137.

as making the emergence of this new people of God a real possibility. This does not mean that all the conditions were met in Jesus' earthly ministry which would fully establish the community. It does mean that the new people of God were being gathered, called, and established in what Jesus did. "The appointment of the Twelve is the first stage in the organization of the household of Jesus within the Israel of God, the number twelve asserting its continuity with the history of the chosen people."¹³⁵

Mark 3: 14-15 contains the purpose for the calling: "He appointed twelve as his companions, whom he would send out to proclaim the Gospel, with a commission to drive out devils"(NEB). Goguel says of the passage: "In the way in which Mark defines the function of an apostle 'to be with Jesus', and 'to be sent forth by him', there is a contradiction which can only be resolved by concluding that these two remarks do not belong to the same moment. 'To be with Jesus', that is the part of the apostles during the ministry of Jesus; 'to be sent forth by him', that is to be their function after the Resurrection."¹³⁶ The statement of contradiction is not an extremely strong argument against the mission. It is answerable in view of the firm place that the mission has in the tradition. The outlook of E. D. Burton is to be preferred. After acknowledging the later influence found in "whom he named apostles", he says: "...the horizon of the passage is wholly that of Jesus' lifetime and there is no suggestion of any work to be done after Jesus' death. This fact is strong evidence that the substance of the passage comes from a very early date, and embodies the recollection of the Twelve of their original conception of their primitive function."¹³⁷ Filson would go so far as to say that even the term "apostles" might be historical if the later meaning is not read into the designation of the disciples as such.¹³⁸

The use of the term apostle is debatable. The title is certainly fixed beyond question only after the death of Jesus. During his life it

135. Carrington, Mark, page 184.

136. Goguel, Life, pages 338.

137. E. D. Burton, Galatians(ICC), page 378.

138. Filson, Matthew, pages 125-6.

was perhaps descriptive of the mission of the Twelve, but it does not appear to have been a title.¹³⁹ "All three evangelists are thus ignorant of 'apostle' as a designation of the Twelve..."¹⁴⁰ The literature on the word apostle is not in much agreement on the use of the word by Jesus.¹⁴¹ However, it seems clear that the emphasis in the synoptics is upon the bestowal of ἐξουσία rather than ἀποστέλλειν.¹⁴² Also this commission does not seem to have been permanent. Rather it is appropriate to the mission only.¹⁴³ Thus it seems unlikely that apostle had titular force or was an office within the pre-crucifixion experience of the Twelve. However, the sending of the Twelve raises the question whether ἀπόστολος is identical with shaliah, that is the one who is sent is the same as the sender or is his ambassador.¹⁴⁴ Rengstorf argues: "It is clear that we have here a case of authoritative sending in the sense of the delegation of power. The men so sent forth are throughout the narrative to be regarded as shaluhim in the legal sense."¹⁴⁵ He bases the conclusion on three facts: (1) A commission by Jesus raises much less of a historical problem than looking for it elsewhere. (2) John complained against an unauthorized exorcist. (3) Jesus' words about the treatment accorded his disciples indicate the principle of the institution (see Matthew 10:40, Mark 9:41). Flew follows Rengstorf's argument.¹⁴⁶ However, Burton has reservation since the first sure knowledge of the use of the word with titular force comes from the sixth decade of

139. Burton, Galatians, page 367.

140. A. Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Vol. I, pages 319-20.

141. Works on the subjects of "apostle": Burton, Galatians; Rengstorf, TWNT, art. ἀποστέλλω (Bd. I); Farrer, in Kirk, Ministry, Harnack, Mission and Expansion; J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, pages 92-101; H. Voglestein, "The Development of the Apostolate in Judaism and Its Transformation in Christianity", Hebrew Union College Annual, 1925, Vol. II, pages 99-123.

142. Rengstorf, op. cit., TWNT, page 425.

143. Ibid.

144. See Flew, Rengstorf, Burton, et. al.

145. Rengstorf, op. cit., page 425.

146. Flew, Church, pages 106-20.

the first century.¹⁴⁷ Even supposing it had titular force and Jesus regarded the Twelve as his sheluhim, the title does not appear to be permanent, as Rengstorf himself argues. In view of the uncertainty of the question of Jesus' institution of the office of apostle, the length of time the name applied, and the amount of authority involved, it seems unwise to press the issue in regard to the prior question of his intention for the Church. Therefore, it will suffice to point out the one basic fact "...that the historical Jesus made his disciples share his authority."¹⁴⁸

Once the Twelve are established, they are sent on a mission. They are given special authority from Jesus to proclaim "the approach of the Kingdom of God and to prove its healing powers," "to bring peace and salvation to the towns."¹⁴⁹ Does such a mission have implications for the Church? Flew says:

These three declarations determine the character of an apostle in the early Church, and contain the essential characteristics of the Christian ministry for all time. First there is the proclamation of the Word; second, the power given in the New Age for the fulfilment of the tasks laid upon the messengers; and third, the gathering of His new community, the people of God. Word, Spirit, Church- these three determine the nature of the ministry. Such creative ministerial work is actually constitutive of the Church. 150

Before reflecting on Flew's interpretation of the significance of the mission of the Twelve it is necessary to determine whether Mark 3:14b-15 give reliable information concerning Jesus' intention for his disciples. Some reference has been made to this in connection with the term "apostle" as well as mention of Bultmann's contention that it is an editorial formulation. It has been assumed that Jesus did send out the Twelve with authority, but such should be given further support in view of Flew's argument about the significance it has for the Church. The mission is paralleled in Mark 6:7-13, Luke 9:1-6, Matthew 9:37-10:1, 10:5-16. The instructions

147. Burton, Galatians, page 368.

148. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 149.

149. Ibid.

150. Flew, Church, page 117.

are amplified in the other versions of the calling, although the basic emphasis upon sharing Jesus' work remains constant. There are three reasons for supporting the authenticity of such a mission, even if the amplifications of the manner in which it was conducted are drawn from early Church practices.¹⁵¹ The reasons, as listed by Cranfield, following T. W. Manson, are:

- a) The mission is supported in all four of the sources.
- b) "There are a very large number of sayings of the mission sort."
- c) The characteristic missionary proclamation of the early Church, that is of judgement and the Messiahship of Jesus, are missing.¹⁵²

If then the mission is historical, can it bear the weight of Flew's interpretation? He sees in the preaching of the Twelve the proclamation of the Word. Undoubtedly, if they do share in the proclaiming of the Kingdom, they do present a message of good news and judgement. However, this message is certainly not the kerygma of the early Church. It is not the complete word of the primitive community, which included the significance of Jesus' death and resurrection. Still the word that the Twelve proclaim does foreshadow the gospel of the early Church in that it proclaims the time of salvation to be at hand. It is a summons to Israel to participate in the final age, the eschatological fulfilment.

Flew also argues that the "power" of the "New Age" is given to the disciples. This he sees as corresponding to the work of the Spirit. Included in the mission is the commission to drive out demons and to proclaim the Kingdom. These may perhaps be classified as works of the Spirit but are not identical with the idea of the Spirit in the primitive Church.

Flew sees the work of the disciples as that of assembling the people of God, "the new community". How far the commission of the disciples was based upon Jesus' desire to establish the people of God through such a means is impossible to know. In any event the real community in within Jesus' relationship to his disciples who participate in his work and are

151. Ferdinand Hahn, Mission in the New Testament, page 46.

152. Cranfield, Mark, page 202.

with him.

It is then difficult to see in the mission of the Twelve a fully constituted Church. But certainly the nature of the Church's ministry is foreshadowed in the mission. The proclamation of the disciples speaking of the new age, presumably for all Israel, does call for a decision in that significant time. The possibility of a new people was opened in such an activity as this. However, too little is known of the mission to draw any final conclusion from it.

Consideration will now be given to two basic points concerning the disciples: (1) They return to Jesus at the conclusion of the mission. (2) The disciples are, in consequence of their actions, links between those who believe and Jesus.

(1) Mark 6:30 contains the account of the return of the disciples. "The apostles now rejoined Jesus and reported to him all they had done and taught." (NEB) The verse serves a transitional purpose; it is vague and the "vocabulary suggests a Markan construction."¹⁵³ But its contents surely are historical. After the disciples had completed their mission they returned again to Jesus. It is only logical that they told him what they had done and taught. There is a threefold significance to the return of the Twelve.

a) It shows that the disciples or the Twelve have not received authority on their own. They are not free to continue teaching, preaching, and healing in the way of their own personal choice. This shows that they are not simply students in a rabbinical college nor men called simply to warn others of impending doom. Their apostleship is not one which suggests some activity with independent authority, "The true nature of their apostleship is further indicated by the reference of their gathering together to Jesus and reporting to him πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν καὶ ὅσα ἐδίδαξαν: they are dependent on and accountable to, him who has commissioned them."¹⁵⁴ The authority of Jesus is reflected in their return. Likewise it is evident

153. Taylor, Mark, page 318.

154. Cranfield, Mark, page 215.

they derive their mission and authority from Jesus. They are not established independently of him.

b) Their return to be with Jesus indicated their main purpose. "Discipleship, not apostleship, was the primary active function of the Twelve."¹⁵⁵ The basic aspect of the relationship between the disciples and Jesus was one of following and leading. Such a fact reveals that Jesus' underlying motive for calling was not just an immediate corps of men to help in a widespread proclamation of the coming Kingdom. They do not seem to be only heralds of the Day or messengers with the news of the in-breaking Kingdom. If they were solely this, why should they return? If they are only warning of an imminent irruption of God's reign, why discontinue the proclamation and return to Jesus? The answer is: because he fundamentally desired that they should be with him, or follow him. Eduard Schweizer adds considerably to the understanding of this relationship when he notes: "It is Mark who depicts clearer than anyone else in the New Testament that faith always means discipleship, following Jesus. Again it is the earthly Jesus who manifests what the way of the believer looks like, not simply by being an ethical example but by taking men into his fellowship, by letting men be with him in his earthly life."¹⁵⁶

c) The return makes obvious the real communal situation. For the continuing community is that one formed by Jesus and his disciples. Within it there is a ministry, namely that of Jesus which holds the group together, and in which the disciples participate. It is a separate community, perhaps not from the true Israel, but certainly from the traditional one. It has a basic and unifying aim, that is discipleship to Jesus and following his call. It is a community intentionally gathered by Jesus, and one he obviously intended to sustain and direct.

(ii) As was indicated above in another context, it is often necessary to see the incident in question from the vantage point of the disciples. The case of the mission is one such incident. There seems to be^a necessary

155. F. J. A. Hort, The Christian Ecclesia, page 29.

156. Schweizer, "Mark's Contribution to the Quest of the Historical Jesus", NTS, pages 432.

effect of the situation upon the Twelve. To reach the effect several simple points should be noted. (1) The disciples do not go in their own authority. This is made obvious by the fact that they return to Jesus as he had expected them to do. (2) It is more ^{than} likely that they had to reveal to inquirers that they came in the name of Jesus. They must necessarily confess that the authority for their work is Jesus, and that they are in his service. (3) Jesus' authority for them is absolute. It has uprooted them from their homes and occupations. They have followed him through strife and controversy. They expect that he controls their eternal destinies. (4) Therefore, they must assume that Jesus' authority is from God.

Thus these men actually go out in the authoritative name of Jesus, to whom they are accountable. They may be called to proclaim the Kingdom and manifest its powers. But, ultimately they must also act as links between the hearers and Jesus himself. It takes little historical imagination to realize that they told their hearers that the concrete source of their authority was Jesus. So that whatever else they did or ^{were} commissioned to do, they told men of Jesus. Thus it was impressed upon them in the earthly ministry of Jesus that they related men to him. And their hopes were cast upon Jesus and their lives submitted to his authority; it is hard to imagine that they did not consciously leave this impression with their hearers. Therefore, without reference to historical speculation on Christological development, the disciples did link men to Jesus. The significance this has for the community will be seen in the discussion of the sayings regarding "receiving Jesus".

note: The mission of the seventy, only recorded in Luke, has not been developed because of its insecure place in the tradition and certain difficulties (e.g. the symbolic number seventy, the fact that the charge of Luke 10:2-12 to the seventy is the same as Matthew 10:5 gives to the Twelve). Few would not dismiss its authenticity because: (a) Why should it survive where the Twelve were pre eminent? (b) The existence of the seventy would

account for the large number termed "apostle" in the early Church.¹⁵⁷

(v) Other Sayings

Before drawing conclusions concerning Jesus' intention for the Church, various other discipleship sayings will be discussed very briefly. These sayings are used mainly as support for the ideas previously expressed in the present chapter.

(A) Sayings on the Conditions of Discipleship. T. W. Manson has said: "The demands which God, according to Jesus, makes on a would-be citizen of his Kingdom and those which Jesus makes on a would-be disciple are practically identical."¹⁵⁸ To support his contention, the following selection of verses is listed by Manson.¹⁵⁹

Entrance into the Kingdom

A childlike spirit(Mk.x.15)
Readiness to sacrifice(a) Material goods(Mk.x.23;cf. Lk. xii.29ff.Q), (b) physical well-being(Mk.ix.47), (c) family ties(Lk.ix.61f.:L).
Absolute obedience to God's will(Mt.v.20;vii.2:M).

Discipleship to Jesus

Complete self-sacrifice(mk. viii.34;Lk.xiv.28-33:L) involving family ties(Mt.x.37;Lk. xiv.26:Q) and even life itself (Mk.viii.35;Mt.x.39:Lk.xvii. 33:Q).

Obedience to Jesus(Mk.viii. 34;Mt.x.38:Lk.xiv.27:Q).

Persevering loyalty to Jesus in all circumstances(Mk.viii. 38;Mt.x.32f.:Lk.xii.8f.:Q).

The same general conclusion is reached by A. N. Wilder in his work on eschatology and ethics in the teaching of Jesus. The thought is worked out under the heading, "The Claims of Discipleship in the Crisis of the Kingdom."¹⁶⁰ He notes first that Jesus makes a close identification between the coming of the Kingdom and his own person. Due to this identification and the crisis of the Kingdom, Wilder says: "Therefore the claim of the Kingdom takes the form of claims of discipleship to Jesus in the accomplishment of his errand."¹⁶¹ The material of the synoptics make such a conclusion possible, even allowing for the later influence of the Church. Jesus makes the conditions of

157. Flew, Church, pages 107-8.

158. T. W. Manson, Teaching, page 205.

159. Ibid.

160. A. N. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus, pages 164-171.

161. Ibid., page 166.

discipleship and those concerning the entrance into the Kingdom the same. Here again it is necessary to see the implications of these discipleship sayings from the point of view of the disciples.

(a) In section "i" above, Jesus' use of unusual authority was mentioned in relation to some specific calls to discipleship. It was noted that the call of Jesus uprooted such as Peter, James, Levi, et.al. from their occupations and homes. The same authoritative claim is evident in the sayings on discipleship which Manson listed. The closer group of disciples must have been continually made aware of the authority of Jesus. It was an authority which could have seemed only to lay down stringent demands, and yet it also appears to be equated with the authority of the Kingdom.

(b) In section "i" above, the call to discipleship as a means of grace was stressed in the calls of Matthew-Levi and the young ruler. The backing for such an argument is found further in the selected verses on discipleship and entrance into the Kingdom. The two could not have been so interchangeable if discipleship did not lead to, or was equivalent to entrance into the Kingdom of God.

(c) It has been argued above in several places that the primary motive behind Jesus' call was that men should adhere to and be with him. This would mean that Jesus' summons was on the basis of "follow me". The following might entail self-sacrifice, the breaking of family ties, or perhaps the loss of life; it would mean obedience to Jesus and a continual loyalty to him. The tone of the sayings, as they are listed, is possessive, therefore, they contain such as: "Followers of mine", "come with me", "for my sake", "ashamed of me", "come to me", "disciples of mine", etc. In the sayings the possessive element is so strong because of the finality of discipleship to Jesus. Such sayings undoubtedly fixed the disciples belief that their primary function was to be with Jesus, as his own.

(d) In section "ii" above, the expectations of the disciples regarding Jesus were stressed. They expected Jesus to know the terms of "salvation" and have the power to put them into operation. Such a thought must have been confirmed for them by the discipleship sayings. For in their entrance

into the Kingdom was equated with discipleship. Therefore, they cast their hopes on Jesus because he intended to and did equate the two. And this very fact provides the basis for a new faith. If they so cast their hopes on Jesus, they are more likely to adhere to him than to the traditional faith if the two are in conflict. Here is a piece of raw material from which the Church was being built.

The sayings equating discipleship and entrance into the Kingdom are not isolated fragments in the tradition. They are closely joined to those sayings which deal with the seriousness of accepting or rejecting Jesus. They are also related to the statements concerning "receiving Jesus", which are to be reviewed next. Their position in the tradition could not be established apart from these two other categories of sayings. If they may be shown to have an authentic place in the Gospels then there is little objection to equating discipleship with entrance into the Kingdom in some sense of the phrase.

(B) Receiving Jesus (Matthew 10:40; Mark 9:36-7; Luke 9:46-8, 10:16; and others)

The verses listed above indicate that the idea of the reception of Jesus is frequently found in the Synoptic tradition. The idea is prominently connected with Judgement, as Manson shows by an examination of such sayings as Luke 10:16 and Mark 9:41, together with Jesus' sayings concerning the Last Judgement (Matthew 12:41f.). "Taking all these sayings together, the general principle emerges that every generation will be judged by its response to such manifestations of the sovereignty of God as was available in its day: To the generation that saw the ministry of Jesus, it was that ministry in word and deed as he carried it out in his own life and as he meant it to be carried out in the society of which he was the head."¹⁶² Wilder shows that Jesus' relationship to the Kingdom was so important that "...he...is so peculiarly the embodiment of the Kingdom, the touchstone of the Kingdom, that men cannot reject him without rejecting it, or accept it without accepting him."¹⁶³ Receiving Jesus is thus closely connected with judgement and the Kingdom of God.

162. Manson, Teaching, page 271.

163. Wilder, Eschatology, pages 166-7.

Another general instance of the idea of receiving Jesus is Mark 9:36-7: "Then he took a child, set him in front of them, and put his arm round him. 'Whoever receives one of these children in my name,' he said, 'receives me; and whoever receives me, receives not me, but the One who sent me'" (NEB). Branscomb thinks that the saying may well be a conflation or variant of two sayings, Matthew 10:40 and 10:42. But, he believes it to be "genetically related to" some genuine saying of Jesus and "that the scene is in His character and spirit."¹⁶⁴ Taylor also finds the saying out of context, and following Turner, he would see it more properly related to 10:15 (receiving the Kingdom as a child).¹⁶⁵ However, in support of the authenticity of the idea he says: "The idea that the envoy of a man is the same as the man himself is fundamentally Jewish..., and the principle that to receive the lowly is to receive Jesus is independently attested in Matthew 25:40."¹⁶⁶

The idea also recurs in the mission instruction to the Twelve (Matthew 10:40) and the Seventy (Luke 10:16). Therefore, it may be stated with some confidence that Jesus put men into situations where it was necessary either to accept him or reject him. And as shown above this acceptance or rejection is of some consequence. The disciples are fundamentally involved in the process. They are directly involved in the situation by Jesus' command if Matthew 10:40 and/or Luke 10:16 are accepted as historical. Otherwise the involvement is a natural result of the circumstance of discipleship. At any rate they stand in a position to recognize the consequences of rejection and acceptance. And as disciples of Jesus they will have an opportunity to make known their expectations and beliefs. So anyone who accepts their message will through them accept Jesus. The consequence of acceptance or rejection makes it imperative for them to accept him.

It may be said that the disciples are proclaiming the coming Kingdom and not interested in or commissioned to preach Jesus. But such an objection is not conclusive because it fails to see that Jesus was for the dis-

164. Branscomb, Mark, page 170.

165. Taylor, Mark, pages 405-6.

166. Ibid.

ciples the manifestation of the Kingdom. They were not rabbis, theologians, or philosophers. They were plain men, and therefore, probably not reliant upon the abstractions of theology but dependent upon something more concrete. The only concrete knowledge of the Kingdom they had was obviously Jesus; he had its power, its authority and its grace. Even if their commission was such an extremely limited one as: "Warn the people to flee before the wrath that is to come," they still would need to reveal the source of their authority and the power of salvation in view of the imminent irruption of the reign of God. For them Jesus was authority, and they expected even deliverance or grace as a part of his service.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the disciples were involved in helping to make it possible for men "to receive" Jesus prior to his death. This is so either by a direct mission charge of Jesus or the force of the circumstance.

(C) True Family (Mark 3:31-5; Luke 8:19-21; Matthew 12:46-50)

Bultmann questions the authenticity of the scene and describes it as ideal, however, Taylor classifies this as unnecessarily radical criticism. And he finds a strong hint of reliability because of the probability that the circumstance described could give rise to the words spoken. Also he notes the detail of Jesus' glance at the crowd.¹⁶⁷ In further support of its authenticity, he quotes Weiss who says: "Die lebhafteste rhetorische Frage Jesus, das hochgespannte Berufswusstsein, das Wort vom Tun des Willens Gottes- das alles macht einen höchst authentischen und lebendigen Eindruck."¹⁶⁸

F. C. Grant gives good reason to remove doubt concerning the authenticity of the event. He argues that the early Church would have taken comfort in Jesus' placement of the will of God above earthly relationships. But for this very reason the saying must have been difficult for patristic commentators; "...and it must have been hard for the Jew to receive, for whom the command 'Honor thy father and thy mother' was part of the Deca-

167. Taylor, Mark, page 245; also Cranfield, Mark, page 143.

168. Ibid.

logue. But for that very reason its originality and authenticity as a saying of Jesus seem beyond question."¹⁶⁹

The likelihood that the event actually happened is very good. And once again there seems to be no reason why an event containing Jesus' brusque dismissal of his family should be placed in the tradition unless it actually happened.

From the point of view of the disciples a great deal would seem to be involved. There are both positive and negative results. On the negative side there is the further emphasis on separation from the normal procedure. On the positive side there are implications of a new communal relationship.

The separation comes at two points. (a) As Grant has noted the whole episode runs contrary to the Decalogue. In fact the implication seen in the telling of the story make it rather a flagrant violation of the Law. It is not only a question of failing to honor his mother; he rather seems to end the whole relationship. He dismisses his family, his mother included, with a wave of the hand. Jesus is not being the legally correct Jew. He is in fact just the opposite in this case. (b) Nothing could bring home the reality of possible separation more acutely than the severing of family ties. Here the disciples see the result of Jesus' religious conviction. All, even the most basic, earthly relationships are superseded for the sake of God's will. No doubt a way of life which could dismiss family ties could dismiss religious ties as well.

On the positive side there are the implications for a new fellowship. In regard to this event A. N. Wilder has written:

As we have seen, the gospel of Mt. is rich in intimation of the fulfilment in the life of the community of the promises made by Jesus to his followers. A church fellowship is reflected in which, though family ties have been severed, a new set of even more close relationships have been set up. The present reward of this new family bond in the ecclesia is certainly reflected in the passage 12:46-50. 170

169. Grant, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 694.

170. Wilder, Eschatology, page 111-112.

And Branscomb has also noted:

The saying...gives us a glimpse of the personal aspects of Jesus' conception of the reign of God. It was to be constituted by a number of people whose spirit would make it a social body with the ethical quality and value of a family group. The early Church grew naturally out of this conception. 171

The saying is another piece of raw material from which the Church was constructed. It is possible to move beyond such an observation. For the idea that the Church "grew naturally" from such an idea says little for Jesus' intention. The Church could be a natural evolvement from Jesus' ministry. But more seems to be implied here. The new communal relationships are established through kinship to Jesus. Thus two men are brothers symbolically or "spiritually" because of their brotherhood to Jesus. And here Jesus makes himself the center of the fellowship with the possessive tone of "my brother" and "my mother". Thus the early Church may have grown out of such an idea of family relationship because Jesus intended a new community. In this context it may be asked: If Jesus does not intend the Church or a continuing fellowship related to his own person, what then can be implied from such an incident as this? It may be that Jesus' intention to establish a "Church" will give the only explanation possible for this new kinship.

(D) Little Flock (Luke 12:32)

The fact that the verse is found only in Luke may not cancel its genuineness. However, its position in the tradition is thereby weakened. And with the weakening there is the suspicion that it has arisen out of the needs and situation of the early Church. Flew sees "no reason" to doubt its authenticity.¹⁷² Easton adds: "The flock was undoubtedly the Church to Luke but the verse is entirely in Christ's style."¹⁷³ Flew is perhaps too optimistic in his appraisal of the reliability of the saying. But, if Jesus did not speak the words they do reflect and confirm observations

171. Branscomb, Mark, page 75.

172. Flew, Church, page 53.

173. Easton, Luke, page 204.

that have been made previously in this chapter.

(1) The "Little Flock" seems to be the disciples, as is indicated by the context. The promise of the Kingdom is thus given to the disciples. This then is another instance where discipleship and entrance into the Kingdom are equated. Discipleship is here a means of grace, and perhaps is participation in that community which receives the Kingdom and is therefore the eschatological people.

(2) There is a repetition of the communal ideas found in the saying about the "true family". The idea of the flock as a Remnant is well attested in the Old Testament (Micah 5:4; Isaiah 40:11; Ezekiel 34:12-24; Psalm of Solomon 17:45).¹⁷⁴ The idea of designating a saved remnant by the term "flock" is then not a new one. It does in some respects fit the relationship between Jesus and his disciples.

(E) The Confession of Peter (Mark 8:27-33; Matthew 16:13-28; Luke 9:18-22).

The extreme division of opinion concerning the verses make it precarious to use them as a basis for any argument concerning Jesus' intention for the Church. They are used here to review the nature of Jesus' activity and the disciples response. Though Jesus acted with power and authority in a land with a history of messianic pretenders; though he was crucified on the basis of a messianic claim of some sort; though he made discipleship and entrance into the Kingdom equal; though he dared go beyond the Law; though the synoptic gospels see him as the self-confessed Messiah; though his disciples seemed to follow and confess him as Messiah; there remains the intense conviction that Jesus could not and did not think of himself as Messiah. The prior belief which forms such a conclusion is in operation against Peter's confession. Therefore, many hold that it could not have happened. A rather long quotation will be taken from Cranfield to sum up the reasons why the confession might be seen as historical.

For Bultmann vv. 27-30 is a 'faith-legend' expressing the Christian community's confession and v. 31 is similarly secondary, the creation of the early Church...Against this it may be fairly pointed out that "The references

174. Flew, Church, page 53; Manson, Teaching, pages 176, 181.

to 'the villages of Caesarea-Philippi' by a writer who so rarely gives place-names commands respect" (Taylor)...: the connection with the transfiguration (ix.2) seems to be pre-Markan and is precise, the picture of Peter in vv. 27-33 is life-like and suggests Peter's own reminiscence; the fact that Jesus does not confirm the confession is surely significant; and the question asked by Holl: "Who from the primitive community would have dared to call the revered Kephas Satan?" "stands, even when full justice has been done to the conflicts between Pauline Christianity and Jerusalem, which turned upon questions of circumcision and the eating of Jews with Gentiles rather than soteriology" (Taylor)... That Jesus should have foreseen for himself suffering and death is hardly surprising: he has already experienced opposition from the scribes and Pharisees, he had the example of John the Baptist before him, and there were passages in the O. T. to suggest suffering....

We conclude that in these verses we are near to the personal reminiscence of Peter and have before us a section based on sound historical tradition. 175

But, the historicity of the event seems to have its proof in many other places. The confession of Peter was an explicit statement of a faith implicit in many of the words and deeds of the disciples. They had accepted the authority of his call and seen in it the operation of grace. As the questions of Peter and James and John show, the disciples had high expectations of Jesus. They stayed with him through the divisions caused by his ministry. They went out in his name and with authority. The ministry of Jesus seen from the viewpoint of the disciples shows how they cast their lot with him. This he intended for them to do. Peter's confession is an admirable summary of a growing relationship between the Master and the disciples. What then does Jesus' intention for them and their response mean for the foundation of the Church?

SUMMATION

-- The task of drawing together the various strands of Jesus' re-
175. Cranfield, Mark, pages 266-7.

lationship to the disciples is a difficult one. The attempt to apply such findings to Jesus' intention for the Church compounds the difficulty. Therefore, a method or principle by which to assimilate the information must be established. The method or principle will steer between certain positions as represented by R. N. Flew and G. Bornkamm.

Flew, as shown above, argues that especially in the missionary activity of the Twelve (and for other reasons) the Church is in existence in Jesus' ministry. But, it is necessary to note that it is a Church without the resurrection of a crucified Lord. Certainly Flew uncovers many of the elements that unite to compose the Church and something of Jesus' intention for it. However, without the crucifixion, the resurrection, and provision for a continuing ministry the Church is not complete by any definition.

Yet it is possible to accept little, on the face of it, of Bornkamm's argument. He looks to the resurrection as the controlling factor in the founding of the Church.¹⁷⁶ He disallows Matthew 16: 17-19 on the basis that it does not fit "with Jesus' proclamation of the imminent coming of the Kingdom of God."¹⁷⁷ And at any rate he points out that Matthew 16: 17-19 speaks of the future. It is Pentecost and the coming of the Spirit which found the Church.¹⁷⁸ But, such an argument seems inconclusive. Too much is made to rest on too short a period of time. There was no Church then suddenly there was a Church. The earthly ministry of Jesus, his work on earth, does not found the Church. Yet in a matter of days after his death, the followers are established, rather miraculously, into the Church.

The observations of Cullmann seem to take a position between Flew and Bornkamm. Cullmann agrees that the Church is not in existence during the ministry of Jesus. His reasoning is based on the coming of the Spirit. He argues:

176. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 186. The question of the resurrection as the controlling factor will be dealt with in the chapter on the early Church.

177. Ibid., page 187.

178. Ibid., page 186.

The sacrament of Baptism, by which the believer becomes a member of the Church leads to a sharing in the Spirit: 'By one Spirit we were all baptized into one body'(I Cor. 12-13). On the other hand, in Romans 6:3 Paul emphasizes that baptism means being taken up into the death and resurrection of Christ, which are the preconditions of the Church's existence. Since the birthday of the Church coincides with the coming of the Spirit, it not only introduces the end-time, but presupposes the death of Christ in time. For, according to the Gospel of John, the Spirit can appear only after Christ has been 'glorified'(John 7:39). And the Spirit can only be fulfilled as a sequel to Christ's death, so that the Church of Christ cannot arise before that event has taken place.

If we proceed from the other crucial New Testament definition of the Church we shall reach the same conclusion. According to Ephesians 2.20, the Church is 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets'. Paul recognized that as much as did the early Church itself. According to him the apostolate supplements the Spirit as constitutive elements of the Church. But, in the New Testament, being an apostle means having witnessed the resurrection of Christ...which is another way of saying that the Church can only be translated into reality after the death and resurrection of Christ. 179

Cullmann does add that the earthly Jesus laid the foundation for the Church, but he pursues the matter no further.¹⁸⁰ He is correct in showing the necessity of the death and resurrection of Jesus and the coming of the Spirit for the completion of the Church. He is also right in pointing to the fact that Jesus laid the foundation for the Church. But, the emphasis is out of balance. The intention, labour, the ministry of Jesus are stripped of importance for the sake of the Spirit after the death and resurrection. (Though the Spirit may have come, according to John 7:9, after the Passion, the activity of the Spirit may be seen in the earthly ministry. See Matt. 3:16; Mk. 1:10, 12; Jn. 1:32; and especially Matt. 12:28: "But if it is by the Spirit of God that I drive

179. Oscar Cullmann, The Early Church, pages 117-8. 180. Ibid.

out the devil..."(NEB). The foundation should not be treated as vague or secondary by the implication of emphasis. Then one is left with Bornkamm's difficulty: How can the Church arise so rapidly? The implication and importance of the foundation for the completion of the Church must be seen and emphasized.

Any principle for an approach to the problem should neither exclude the necessity of the earthly work of Jesus nor overlook the importance of the post-resurrection events. And likewise any principle will seem to be arbitrary. But, to do justice to both sides of the problem as mentioned above, some principle must be suggested. The principle to be used is that in the ministry of Jesus the Church was being built, or the possibility of the establishment of the people of God was being opened. This means it was not completed before Jesus' death, yet it was not all a sudden product of a few turbulent days of post-resurrection activity. Such a theory makes the quick appearance of the Church more understandable, and it does justice to the whole ministry of Jesus, not only his death and resurrection. It makes comprehensible the fact that the resurrection was only seen by the eyes of faith. However, the theory is arbitrary. The argument for its probability lies in two areas. (i) If the Church was being built there must be some visible raw materials for its construction. The conclusions concerning Jesus' relationship to his disciples will be tested to see if they indicate such building material. (ii) The way the various materials are put together should indicate a logical process of building. If they do one may assume Jesus intended to use them as elements of the Church.

(i) Pieces of raw material for the building of the Church found in Jesus' relationship to his disciples:

(a) The simplest and most elemental condition of the Church is that Jesus exercises authority and leadership within it. The Church has Jesus as the master. He holds the position of authority for the members of the Church. Jesus does by his own will hold authority over the disciples. His authority over them is clearly demonstrated in his summons to the dis-

ciples to follow.

(b) Another basic element in the Christian Church is that, in some manner, Jesus must be the one with the power of salvation. It has been argued above that the disciples expected Jesus to have or to be able to give the power of salvation. This conviction is strengthened by Jesus' intention to make discipleship to himself a means of grace. Finally the discipleship sayings equate entrance into the Kingdom and discipleship. The disciples seem to look to Jesus as the one in some manner responsible for their eternal destinies. This position was also confirmed in relation to the Son of Man sayings, as was the previous reference to Jesus' authority.

(c) Another piece of raw material for the building of the Church is a communal relationship. And the communal relationship is based on a common attitude toward Jesus or with Jesus as the center of the group. Such a communal outlook is found in the saying about the True Family and the Little Flock. But it is more clearly and closely associated with the community of disciples and master. The basic reason they are summoned by Jesus is that they may be with him. It is allegiance to him which united them and which consequently forms the basis for the community.

(d) The Church must have a distinctive existence. It must not be simply a part or a branch of another religious group. It should be the Church or that is the people of God. Within the ministry of Jesus there occur many divisions and incidents which lead ultimately to the gap between Jesus and Judaism. The disciples are involved in the process. The ultimate breach between the followers of Jesus and Judaism was already evident in the earthly life of Jesus. This separation is ultimately based upon Jesus' claim of sovereign authority. There is the suggestion that in the appointment of the Twelve the new people of God are being established.

(e) A ministry is an essential element in the Church. The beginnings of the Christian ministry are evident in the sending out of the Twelve. There the disciples participate in proclaiming the Kingdom and in manifesting

its power.

It seems indisputable that much of the material for the building of the Church was being assembled during the earthly days of Jesus. The question then arises concerning the use of the materials by Jesus.

(ii) At this stage of the investigation of Jesus' intention for the Church is it possible to show his will in the establishment of the Church? Any absolute yes would be premature. The whole event of the ministry should be examined to see if any similar pieces of material for the construction of the Church appear. And all these pieces of material should be related to the Church after the resurrection. However, any absolute no would also be out of order. There are certain elements in Jesus' dealings with the disciples which make the Church a most probable outcome. These elements are listed as pieces of raw material. Some may argue that while these elements obviously help form the Church it does not necessarily mean that Jesus intended it so. Yet, all these elements are a result of the will and intention of Jesus. He caused the disciples expectation and separation. He gave them a new communal situation based precisely on their attitude toward him. He established his authority over them and granted them a certain authority and mission in his name. And he made all these elements fit into a pattern which produced the Church. He was building the Church, either with full knowledge or in ignorance of the implications of his activity. If he worked in knowledge of the general outcome, that outcome is a logical consequence of his ministry. It is at least open to discussion that he could have foreseen such logical consequences, and that he sought to establish the new Israel, the people who would receive the Kingdom of God.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

The Significance of "Covenant" in the Lord's Supper

According to its interpretation and historicity, the word covenant may be a very close parallel to the thought of Matthew 16:18. Certainly it has very significant connections with Jesus' intention for his disciples and for the establishment of a new people of God. It seems unavoidable to view the possibility of a new covenant within the context of a ministry which had authoritative and soteriological implications necessary for the beginnings of the final community. There is a connection with the soteriological sayings concerning the Son of Man and the calling of the Twelve. There is also the possibility, as will be noted in subsequent chapters, that Jesus spoke of a new Temple and Torah. In the light of this context, the thought of "covenant" might have been expressed in Jesus' ministry. If it was expressed at the Last Supper that Jesus sought to establish a covenant, what could be the implications for the new people of God or the Church?

Several interpretations of this supposed action may indicate its significance. From the point of view of the Roman Catholic, R. Schnackenburg, the whole event links closely with Matthew 16:18 and the creation of the Church. He sees that the sacrificial blood of Jesus established the "peace covenant" (Isa. 54:10 and Jer. 31:31) between God and his people. This would mean the formation of the people of the Last Days.¹⁸¹ "The community that celebrates the Eucharist is the Ecclesia established by Jesus and belonging to him (Matt. 16:18) and its true essence emerges in this celebration; it is the community of the redeemed called to the coming kingdom."¹⁸² Gloege sees the covenant in terms of Ex. 24:9-10: and he holds that God's chosen band is confirmed as his family here.¹⁸³ Many others find in the supper the constituting of the new Israel.¹⁸⁴ A very close connection

181. R. Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, pages 252-3.

182. Ibid., pages 254-5.

183. G. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, pages 263-4.

184. A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, page 117; F. Filson, A New Testament History, page 142; C. H. Dodd, History and the Gospel, page 95.

between covenant and Church is drawn by T. F. Glasson, following Kattenbusch. "Since the Last Supper is indissolubly linked to the Cross and took place in its shadow, the Supper itself, with its 'cup of the New Covenant in My blood' and its symbolism of a common meal, marks the constituting of the Christian Church."¹⁸⁴ A

The question of whether or not Jesus may have spoken of a new covenant becomes very important because of these possible interpretations which may be placed upon it. Regarding the meal one may take the obvious minimal position as to genuine history: "Jesus of Nazareth, filled with the certainty of his approaching end, celebrated the last meal with his disciples."¹⁸⁵ The only quibbles one might have are with the use of "celebrated" or with the possibility that it may be going too far to suggest that Jesus reckoned with the possibility of his imminent death. The quote might be fairly restated to say: One meal which Jesus ate with his disciples was the last. There is absolutely no known significance to such a meal except that it is the last one Jesus shared with his disciples. Bornkamm reckons that because it was the last meal, it later, in light of the Cross and the Resurrection, was remembered as having special significance.¹⁸⁶ However, it seems that there must have been something special about that meal. It must have been more than simply "last". Why seize on the last meal; why not the last prayer, the last parable, the last healing, the last proclamation, the last rejection, the last quotation from scripture? There are many "lasts" in a life. If one is chosen to be of special significance it must in itself have representative meaning. Therefore, the proper starting point would seem to be: Jesus of Nazareth, filled with the uncertainty of his approaching end, gave a special meaning to the last meal with his disciples. This is not necessarily to say that such meaning is recognisable beyond doubt or that it has not been changed or added to or obliterated by the Church's own interpretation.

184A. T.F. Glasson, The Second Advent, page 148.

185.- Hugh Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, page 292.

186. Ibid., page 294.

It is not the purpose here to investigate all the problems of chronology and history attaching to the Last Supper. The difficulties regarding the dating of the event are probably never to be overcome.¹⁸⁷ Scholars certainly tend to be cautious about the event, despite the fact that it seems to have the first written testimony of any narrative in Jesus' life.¹⁸⁸ It is undoubtedly a tradition to which there was a tendency to contribute, as is most obvious in such additions as Matthew's "for the remission of sins." The question here is whether or not "covenant" is an addition or whether it was part of the original significance when Jesus gave to the meal. In favour of its authenticity is the fact that the covenant idea is present in all four accounts of the Last Supper. In order to judge its authenticity and meaning it will be examined in three of the accounts: Luke, I Corinthians, and Mark. Emphasis will be placed on the Markan narrative for which there seems to be the best argument for originality. However, the basic question is not which account is preferable, but whether any appear to be historical. Or, are they all to fall in the category of community products, more specifically are they the accomplishments of Hellenistic influences?¹⁸⁹

The Lukan narrative has perhaps had less support than any other regarding its originality.¹⁹⁰ There are significant textual problems and alternative accounts in Luke. It is not the purpose here to discuss the whole of the account, but to examine Luke 22:29f. and the idea of "covenant" contained in the verses. Otto championed the originality of the Lukan presentation of the Last Supper, however, he found it necessary to revise the reading as follows: 17, 18, 19a, 29-30. This account for him can have an "organic connection" only with the life of Christ.¹⁹¹ Therefore, although he removes the cup word concerning the blood of the covenant he still

187. See George Ogg, "The Chronology of the Last Supper", Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament, pages 75-96.

188. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, page 65.

189. Bultmann, History, page 265,

190. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pages 87-135; Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, pages 37-44; Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, pages 164-200.

191. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, page 268.

sees the idea of covenant as a prominent and original part of the Last Supper. Bultmann argues that verses 28-30 are a formulation of the early Church. The sayings, therefore, are assigned to the risen Lord.¹⁹²

"...Luke uses δικαιόω because it makes the saying into a testamentary disposition, which makes it fit the context extremely well."¹⁹³ The position that the early Church produced the sayings and the possibility for Luke to add the idea of covenant are based on Bultmann's assumption that the Twelve were seen as the judges of Israel only in the early Church.¹⁹⁴

Taylor regards Bultmann's argument as no more than an assumption which certainly fails to provide a reason why Jesus may not have been the speaker of these words.¹⁹⁵ There is also the question of whether the real Sitz im Leben of the Twelve was the early Church or the ministry of Jesus. As has already been suggested, the early Church displayed very little interest in the Twelve, who play no continuing fundamental role in the community. Yet they are fixed in the ministry of Jesus in a significant position. It is on the point of the Sitz im Leben that Otto attempts to secure his argument for the authenticity of the verses.

Clearly, its climax is an utterance...to the special circle of eleven disciples whose circumstances are described and who were gathered round Jesus as he was about to meet his death. To them, and...only to them, he promised that they should sit with him upon the thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. The fact that the ancient section reached its climax at this point shows how fully it accorded with the then situation, and also that it could not have been invented by anyone holding the church's point of view. 196

There are certain other considerations which might indicate the historical reliability of these verses, however, they arise in connection with the interpretation of the sayings. Higgins sees in verse 29 that the Twelve, as the nucleus of the new Israel, are receiving a share in the Kingdom and

192. Bultmann, History, pages 158-9.

193. Ibid., page 159.

194. Ibid.

195. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, pages 189-90.

196. Otto, Kingdom of God, page 274.

in verse 30 they are given responsibilities accordingly.¹⁹⁷ This was an action which helped sow the seed from which the Church was to grow.¹⁹⁸ Otto's own position gives greater elaboration. There are several important steps in his interpretation.

a) First of all, discipleship takes its "final form".¹⁹⁹ Otto contends that Jesus had summoned his disciples to adhere to him as the eschatological redeemer, so that the fellowship, begun in this age, would be consummated in the final age. This is not unlike the implications found in the Son of Man and discipleship sayings already examined. In them it was seen that Jesus' authoritative summons had soteriological implications. While it might be advisable not to speak of Jesus' self-estimate in terms of an eschatological saviour, there are still definite saving implications in his words and actions. The Last Supper would have been a fitting place for them to have been confirmed.

b) Messiahship, as well as discipleship, is seen by Otto to take a "final form" at the Last Supper.²⁰⁰ Jesus, had combined the ideas of Son of Man and Servant, and he saw that through his own death ("sanctification"), symbolized in the broken bread, the disciples might receive atoning power. "As thus expiated, as thus consecrated for the Kingdom they were qualified for the 'testamentum'."²⁰¹

There are of course many things which make Otto's interpretation difficult to accept. The question of Son of Man, Servant, and their combination are very perplexing in their own right. There is the further possibility that Luke 22:29f. has a more original form in Mark.²⁰² However, it is significant that Luke does relate the idea of a covenant in terms of the Twelve, their discipleship, and the death of Jesus. And it seems that Otto is correct in connecting discipleship with covenant. The final consideration on the matter would still seem to have to be made on non-lukan ground.

197. Higgins, Lord's Supper, page 11.

198. Ibid.

199. Otto, Kingdom of God, pages 289-90.

200. Ibid.

201. Ibid., page 291.

202. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, pages 177-8.

The Pauline account has probably received more support than its Lukan counterpart, and I Corinthians 11:25, which contains the word about the covenant, is favoured by some as against the Markan version. Two of its chief supporters have been J. Behm²⁰³ and Flew.²⁰⁴ The background of the Pauline saying is Jeremiah 31:31, and its interpretation has already been referred to in regard to the position of Schnackenburg. It so nearly approximates the Markan version that anyone rejecting covenant as original in it would probably not agree to the authenticity of Mark. As Bultmann notes the two accounts are in "essential agreement."²⁰⁵ Therefore, it appears necessary to determine on what grounds one version may be preferred and why the Pauline account may or may not be regarded as authentic.

A.J.B. Higgins summarizes the argument of F.J. Leenhardt, who holds to the priority of I Corinthians for three reasons.²⁰⁶ First, Jesus spoke of a covenant in his blood, and he did not say 'This is my blood'. Leenhardt argues for this because Mark uses blood as a parallel to body, but this is not the true correlative which would have to be flesh. Higgins answers that in the saying "body" probably does stand for "flesh". Secondly, he notes that Mark has Jesus speaking of the wine as both his blood and the fruit of the vine. His explanation of this is that "while the latter comes from historical tradition, the evangelist is indebted for the former to liturgical usage".²⁰⁷ Lastly, Leenhardt notes the awkwardness of the Markan construction. It is certainly awkward, but that does not mean it was derived from Paul. In fact, it would seem that for this reason the Pauline version might be secondary. "The phrase 'This cup,' is easily explained as a closer definition of the indefinite 'This' in the Markan form. Such a modification might naturally be made in a Gentile environment in order to avoid the difficulties of the bolder Markan saying..."²⁰⁸ The priority of the Markan tradition is also accepted by Jeremias, Higgins, and Bultmann.

203. J. Behm, TWNT, II, pages 136f.

204. Flew, Church, pages 72, 75.

205. Bultmann, Theology, I, pages 144-5.

206. Higgins, Lord's Supper, pages 30-33.

207. Ibid., page 31.

208. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, page 203.

There is of course the possibility that both of the accounts are based on genuine tradition, and therefore, it would have to be shown that the idea of covenant is not historical in the context given by I Corinthians 11:25. Or it would seem necessary to show that the Pauline interpretation of the covenant is less authentic than the one in Mark. This is usually done by noting the addition of "new" to covenant and by the command to repeat the supper.²⁰⁹ Since the idea of a new covenant is very significant for Paul it is suggested that he uses it in his interpretation of διαθήκη.²¹⁰

If it is accepted that the form of the Markan account and the interpretation of covenant therein are preferable to Paul's version does this exclude the possibility that the idea of covenant was absent from the Last Supper? Or, in other words, could Paul have had access to a genuine tradition which he interpreted himself. Jeremias thinks that the idea of covenant had a Hellenistic origin, and that in all probability Paul came into contact with it in Antioch. Fuller offers an alternative. "Now it could hardly be claimed that the Church of Damascus knew nothing of the Eucharist, that Paul heard of it and of the tradition about the Last Supper only when he made Antioch his headquarters c. 40..."²¹¹ If Paul heard of the covenant idea in Damascus it would indeed be very early and could only be supported by the evidence of an Aramaic tradition. This brings the discussion round to the Markan version, which if authentic, may show that Paul had access to a similar tradition upon which he based his own interpretation.

Before examining Mark 14:24 it should be noted that although the accounts in Mark, Paul, and Luke give somewhat varying interpretations of covenant, they all agree to its presence. They may also reveal that the idea had a firm place in three independent traditions, and such a possibility must help rather than hinder the contention that covenant belongs in some form to the Last Supper, even if it is not to be connected to the giving of the cup.

209. Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pages 112f.

210. Higgins, Lord's Supper, page 31.

211. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pages 66-7.

An objection brought against Mark 14:24 is that the thought of drinking blood, even symbolically would have been rejected with horror by Jews or Jewish Christians.²¹² As Dibelius states it: "A Jewish Christian Church with its dread of blood would scarcely have made Jesus say 'this is my blood'..."²¹³ Taylor regards this as the most significant objection to be brought against the verse, but he does not regard it as finally decisive.²¹⁴ Higgins, likewise, holds that there are "obvious answers" to the objection, but it is not clear whether he finds the objection or the answers of the most value.²¹⁵

The first answer given by Taylor is that "it is a very doubtful canon of authenticity to question words of Jesus on the ground that they would have awakened horror in the minds of Jews."²¹⁶ In view of the fact that many of Jesus' actions seemed to have raised very harsh judgements against him, Taylor may be correct in assuming that Jesus would not always have been guided by the standard practices of his day. Secondly, Taylor questions the assumption that the saying calls for the actual or symbolic drinking of blood. The objection would have force if the theory of Transubstantiation is accepted, however, it appears that blood is mentioned because of the situation. "The red vintage suggests it, the thought of a violent death implies it, the well-known Old Testament use of the word makes it a convenient vehicle of thought..."²¹⁷ Taylor's argument is based on his thought that Jesus is concentrating upon the redemptive activity of giving his life and not upon a theory of the "transformation of 'substance'."

Following upon the first objection is the supposition that the ideas expressed in the supper have arisen on Hellenistic soil through the influence of the mystery religions. This possibility may be rejected on several grounds. The ideas contained in the verse are Old Testament in association (see Exodus 24 and Isaiah 53). The early date of the narrative would seem

212. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 332; Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, page 329; Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, 207.

213. Dibelius, Tradition, page 207.

214. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, pages 134-5.

215. Higgins, Lord's Supper, pages 29-30.

216. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, page 134.

217. Ibid., page 135.

to forego the influence of the mystery cults,²¹⁸ as would the lack of references to such meals in the existing texts. Also a good portion of the verse seems unquestionably to have a basis in Aramaic. The expression τὸ αἶμα μου is evidence of the Semitic character since the possessive pronoun is equal to the Semitic suffix. Also the word ἐκχυνόμενον indicates a non-Greek background. "The striking present tense is explained by the fact that in Hebrew and Aramaic the present participle is used, not only for the actual present, but also for the immediate future."²¹⁹

There remain two serious objections to 14:24 and the expression τὸ αἶμα μου τῆς διαθήκης. "The difficulties concern both language and content."²²⁰ The linguistic reservation is stressed by Jeremias and supported by Higgins. The argument is that τὸ αἶμα μου τῆς διαθήκης, which is "harsh" in Greek is impossible in Aramaic. This is based on the fact that Aramaic does not allow for a noun, which has a personal pronoun, to be followed by a genitive. As Jeremias puts it "a pronominal suffix cannot govern a genitive."²²¹ However, as Fuller notes, there is the possibility of reversing this argument. He suggests that there may be a way of expressing the phrase through the use of the prepositional prefix d^e as in Daniel 2:34. He notes that Dalman used the same idiom in order to translate the cup-word into Aramaic, and a similar construction appears in Genesis 9:5 (LXX).²²² On this basis one could contend, with justification, that an Aramaic original best explains the "awkward" Greek. For Fuller this does not mean that "covenant" was originally connected with the cup-word, as he, like Otto, finds its place in a discourse of Jesus explaining the significance of his death.

The last serious objection has to do with the content of the association of covenant with blood. "Again, the expression 'blood of the covenant' or 'covenant blood' in later Judaism signified rather the blood of circumcision...another factor telling against its correctness in the context of the Last Supper."²²³ However, it would be difficult to maintain that the

218. Taylor, Mark, page 543.

219. Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, page 122; also Higgins, Lord's Supper, page 32.

220. Higgins, The Lord's Supper, page 32.

221. Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, page 133.

222. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pages 69-70.

223. Higgins, Lord's Supper, page 33.

blood of circumcision was exclusive in light of such verses as Exodus 24:8 and Zechariah 9:11, with the Targum of the latter passage.²²⁴

Mark 14:24, with its Semitic flavour, does not seem to have arisen in Hellenistic Christianity. Linguistically, even considering the disputed expression concerning the covenant, the verse does not appear well-adapted to the Greek language. Its allusions are to the Old Testament, and it reflects the ministry of Jesus. Even Higgins and Jeremias, who on the one hand do not accept covenant in 14:24 as authentic, would not wish to dismiss the thought from Jesus' intention. The absence of the explicit command to repeat the act seems to adhere better to the Last Supper itself than to a community repeating the rite. In summary it seems possible to say: "...every consideration of probability favours the belief that its unstrained allusions, its bold challenge, and its virility of thought have the authentic ring. The one speaker who is most likely to have used these words is Jesus Himself."²²⁵

Paul may have had access to a genuine tradition concerning the covenant as a part of the Last Supper, if the saying is taken as authentic in Mark. Unlike Mark, he appears to have modified the account. For one thing he gives it a more fluent expression in Greek, and perhaps, according to his own theology, gives added impetus to the idea of a "new" covenant. The command to repeat the supper would make the account conform to the developed Church practice. Still, if it is accepted that covenant is to be regarded as a genuine part of the Last Supper, the possibility of a new people of God may be said to have been in the thinking of Jesus. And the interpretations given at the opening of the discussion have some basis then in history.

The results of the covenant idea in the Last Supper may be listed as follows.

1. Matthew 16:18 would seem to have a very definite parallel in the idea of a covenant. This would invalidate the so-called statistical argument which eliminates Matthew 16:18 from the tradition on the basis that it has no parallel.

224. See Taylor, Mark, pages 545f., and Jesus and His Sacrifice, pages 136-9.

225. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, page 136; see also G. H. C. Macgregor, Eucharistic Origins, pages 64f.

2. The fact that covenant is found in relationship to discipleship, particularly to the Twelve, strengthens the contention that Jesus sought by his activity to establish the people of God.

3. The idea of new Temple and new Israel, yet to be discussed fully, are seen to have a parallel in the covenant idea.

CHAPTER VI

THE PARABLES AND THE REACTION TO JESUS' MINISTRY

The chapter immediately preceding attempted to gain a necessary vantage point from which to view the ministry of Jesus; therefore, the suggestion was made that Jesus' relationship to his disciples should be seen, as far as possible, "through the eyes of the disciples"(i.e. what the impact of Jesus' person and activity may have been upon them). In the same manner the present chapter will try to view Jesus' ministry from the vantage point of those who accepted his teaching and person as important. The possibility or necessity of the attempt may be questioned, but such an approach can be taken since Jesus did not teach and preach in a vacuum. He proclaimed a message which appears to have been new, promising, challenging, and demanding. It would seem likely that there was a reaction. No one may hope to obtain very many specific reactions, but the general impression is to be sought. Jesus' message had implications for all who accepted it. Therefore, it may be to nullify the power of Jesus' proclamation to assume that it had no impact and fostered no action. With this as an underlying basis of approach, the parables of Jesus and the reaction to his ministry will be viewed to see what, if any, implications they have for the Church.

The parables will be examined first and then the general reaction to his ministry.

A. The Parables.

It should be stated in the first instance that the parables will not be treated according to form, as done by the Form-criticism school. As in post-biblical Judaism, all types of figurative speech will be meant by "parable".¹

1. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, page 17; Goguel, Jesus, pages 294-5.

Why begin with the parables? The uncritical answer is, because of the characteristic place which they held in the life of Jesus. They are appealing and devastating, penetrating and revealing. They show historical elements of the Palestine of Jesus' day and warm traces of the common people and the rulers. This very life-like character of the parables leads to the critical answer. They are generally accepted as more authentic than the remainder of Jesus' teaching. Jeremias states the "confident position": "The student of the parables of Jesus, as they have been transmitted to us in the first three Gospels, may be confident that he stands upon a particularly firm historical foundation."²

The basis for such a conclusion is founded upon several considerations. (1) They are pictures, concrete and not abstract.³ (2) They have an appeal to the imagination which tends to hold them in the memory and thus secure for them a place in the tradition.⁴ (3) They bear the stamp of the genius of one individual mind⁵ and stand almost without a single parallel as representative of this form of speech.⁶ (4) They stand alone in the New Testament as a part of the Gospels. Although parables could have been used in other situations in the New Testament, they were not. "Yet we are asked to believe that these people who could not create parables for themselves did for another the much more difficult thing of creating not only parables but imaginary historic situations into which to fit them."⁷

These arguments seem to indicate the special historical value of the parables as possible words of Jesus. Of course each parable must be viewed on its own merits, but the general outlook on the parables is that they have a unique place in the synoptic tradition and the New Testament as a whole.

Still the parables present difficulties of meaning and interpretation.

2. Jeremias, Parables, page 9.

3. Ibid.

4. C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, page 13.

5. Ibid.

6. A. T. Cadoux, The Parables of Jesus, page 13.

7. Ibid., page 14.

These difficulties arise partly because of the allegorical exegesis, fostered in the Hellenistic world, which is aided by the hardening theory of Mark 4:11.⁸ And difficulties are a natural product of the new situation in which the parables are compiled, namely the Church, as opposed to the ministry of Jesus. But the difficulties of setting and meaning are too well covered by Jeremias in his chapter "The Problem" to be restated here. In essence he noticed the following developments: elaboration, transfer of audience, eschatological supplanted by hortatory, fusion of parables, and changed setting.⁹

In view of such difficulties, why continue an attempt to use the parables? There are three reasons:

(1) "They use all the resources of dramatic illustration to help men to see that in the events before their eyes...God is confronting them in His Kingdom..."¹⁰ They are, therefore, most important vehicles of the basic quality and meaning of Jesus' ministry and teaching.

(2) According to Cadoux, followed by Jeremias, they are weapons of war and often used in controversy. Being created in such an environment and under such pressures, they are likely to reveal the basic elements of Jesus' intention.

(3) "The parables attributed to Jesus are...evidence that the Church took its rise from a personality immeasurably greater than any who followed him in its ranks."¹¹

The parables will be approached under the divisions of "raw material" as listed above, in hopes of revealing Jesus' intention in regard to:

(a) his personal leadership and authority, (b) salvation, (c) communal relationships, (d) separation from Judaism, (e) a ministry.

(a) The Personal Leadership and Authority of Jesus. Do the parables in some way give evidence that Jesus sought to exert leadership and authority over his hearers? Do the parables speak of discipleship? Discipleship should be used in a looser sense than the more defined body of the

8. Jeremias, Parables, pages 10-11; Cadoux, Parables, page 46; Dodd, Parables, pages 13-15.

9. Summary given by Jeremias, Parables, page 88.

10. Dodd, Parables, pages 147-8.

11. Cadoux, Parables, page 14.

Twelve or the more intimate group of associates. Because Jesus called some into a more constant form of discipleship does not mean that he dismissed others from discipleship. So Bornkamm is able to say: "Some he leaves within their circle, without taking them from their home, their work, their family. He does not blame them for any lack of determination, or half-heartedness, nor exclude them from the kingdom of God. Nowhere in this respect is an exclusive line drawn between them and the disciples."¹² In respect to such a statement, one is not inclined to accept B.T.D. Smith's observation: "...he(Jesus) neither bade all men become his disciples, nor accepted all who offered themselves as such. His message was not 'Follow me', but 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'"¹³ The observation not only suffers from its narrow definition of discipleship, but it also makes repentance a rather barren act, a safety belt to protect against a crash expected to come soon. It leaves abstract and undefined the placement of loyalties, the manner of life, and many other things which one would expect in view of the coming Kingdom. It certainly is a definite possibility that the parables reflect Jesus' intention to make men accept or reject him. Jeremias, in the conclusion of his work on the parables, says: "In attempting to recover the original significance of the parables, one thing above all becomes evident: it is that all the parables of Jesus compel his hearers to come to a decision about his person and mission."¹⁴ Such a conclusion can be maintained from the evidence of the parables.

The parables of the Hid Treasure and the Costly Pearl(Matthew 11:44-46) speak of the willingness to sacrifice everything, if need be, to gain the most valuable.¹⁵ Therefore, the setting of the parable should be one in which sacrifice is demanded by Jesus. Thus its implications could very well be discipleship, perhaps as in the case of the young ruler who is told to sell all and follow Jesus. So Dodd sees that the implications of

12. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 147.

13. B.T.D. Smith, The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels, page 84.

14. Jeremias, Parables, page 159.

15. Smith, Parables, pages 145,146.

sacrifice and the importance of the Kingdom lead to: "Follow me".¹⁶ However, these parables' interpretation must not be pushed, as they are given no specific application and perhaps were not originally found together.¹⁷

The parables of the Tower-builder and the King Going to War (Luke 14: 28-33) are in the context of Jesus' call to men to follow with their eyes open to the cost. The setting is appropriate,¹⁸ but the application of verse 33 is not so clear. The point of the parable is resources and not of total sacrifice.¹⁹ One implication of the parable is that Jesus considered discipleship to be costly and in some sense dangerous. Hence Smith sees the parable in the light of Jesus' question put to the sons of Zebedee concerning the cup and baptism.²⁰ Another implication is the expression of Jesus' authority to demand or expect such costly service.

Jeremias makes an interesting list of figures of speech used by Jesus to illustrate his mission as deliverer.²¹ A frequent figure used by Jesus was shepherd (Matt. 15:24; Luke 19:10, 12:32; Mark 14:27, 25:32). He spoke of his mission in terms of the physician coming to the sick (Mark 2:17). He was a fisher of men and appointed others to the same task (Mark 1:17). He was the teacher of God's will (Matt. 10:24; Luke 6:40). He served as the householder gathering the family of God (Matt. 10:25; Mark 3:35). He was the architect of the Temple of the New Age (Mark 14:58; Matt. 16:18). The sayings which refer to the New Temple may be of importance in the consideration of the new people of God. They may correspond to sayings which imply a new Covenant or a new Law. Mark 14:58 is such a prediction, or reference to a prediction, of the dissolution of the old Temple and the construction of a new one. The historicity of this accusation, brought against Jesus before the sanhedrin, is very often challenged. There are obvious reasons for questioning its place in the tradition. First there are the noticeable interpretive additions in the form of the words

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16. Dodd, Parables, pages 85-6.
17. Bultmann, History, page 173.
18. Dodd, Parables, pages 85-6; also Smith, Parables, page 221.
19. Smith, Parables, page 221.
20. Smith, Parables, page 221; Plummer, The Gospel According to St. Luke, pages 365-6.
21. Jeremias, Parables, pages 96-7.

²² ~~ἡ~~χειροποίητος and ~~ἡ~~χειροποίητος. Secondly, there is the question about how information would have been obtained from the trial. Bultmann would prefer to think that the saying had a mythological origin.²³ However, a more general position is that this prediction of the destruction of the Temple is based on some genuine utterance of Jesus, but that the actual form of the saying is open to serious questioning.²⁴

There are good reasons for believing that such a saying would have arisen in Jesus' ministry and have been known to the Church. Even information about Jesus' trial might have been available to the Church since it is probable that there would have been a desire to know why Jesus had been condemned.²⁵ The prophecy of the destruction of the Temple and the establishing of a new Temple were sometimes expected in the Messianic age, as is reflected in Jewish literature (Enoch 90:28-29, 91:13; Jub. 1:17, 27-28; Hosea 6:12; Zechariah 6:12-13).²⁶ More specific reasons for accepting the authenticity of such a prediction are given by Kümmel.²⁷ He suggests that the similar prophecy in Mark 13:2 should not be taken as a vaticinium ex eventu since the Temple was burned. This saying is matched in Matthew 23:28=Luke 13:35. The strength of his argument is that the prediction was never fulfilled and that it was "at variance with the attitude of the first congregation of Christians towards the Temple..."²⁸ Kümmel interprets the saying in a purely eschatological manner. This he thinks is probable in view of the hope for the new Temple in the Messianic age.

Others who accept the saying as genuine or based upon a genuine saying do not give it such a strictly eschatological interpretation. Barnabas Lindars, in a very tenuous argument, suggests that the saying is

22. Bultmann, History, page 120; Cranfield, Mark, page 442.

23. Bultmann, History, page 121.

24. S. E. Johnson, Mark, page 244; Branscomb, Mark, page 279; Cranfield, Mark, page 442.

25. Higgins, Son of Man, page 67.

26. Bultmann, History, page 120; Johnson, Mark, page 244; Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pages 59ff.; Cranfield, Mark, 442; Glasson, Second Advent, page 143.

27. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 100.

28. Ibid.

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based on Hosea 6:2 where reference is made to the restoration of a new Temple.²⁹ The difficulty with this argument is the acceptance of Hosea 6:2 as a basis for Mark 14:58. However, others support the idea that a new people are involved. Glasson, following Otto, holds that the reverse side of the rejection of the Old Israel is the establishment of the new.³⁰

The saying anticipates a time in which there will arise from the work of Christ a temple not made with hands...one is almost compelled to say a new religion instead of the old...the reference is to something in the mundane period itself, opposed to, dissolving, and surpassing what has gone before--and it is indeed a something which will have a future, a stability, and duration, as against what had been wiped away, and was of a provisional and transitory character. 31

Cullmann sees in the passage a direct parallel to Matthew 16:18 on the basis that the people of God are often represented by the image of a building. He finds that the Synoptic tradition confirms Jesus' proclamation of the building of a new Temple. "By this he can only have meant the new people of God that he intended to found."³² If the saying is genuine, as there is reason to believe, Glasson, Lindars, Otto, and Cullmann have a basis upon which to conjecture that Jesus envisioned a new people as symbolized by the emergence of a new Temple. The real confirmation comes with the possibility that Jesus also spoke of a new age, a new Law, and a new Covenant. That he expected a new age, as a result of the operative powers of the Kingdom, can hardly be denied. He definitely seems to have superseded the Torah, and the Lord's Supper may reveal a new Covenant. Norman, Perrin, who accepts Mark 14:58 as authentic, supports this interpretation with a reference to the Qumran literature. "The use of the symbol of the New Temple to describe the eschatological community in its perfect sacral relationship with God can now be illustrated from the Qumran texts where in 4Q Flor. 1.1-7 the blessed state of the community at

29. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pages 59ff.

30. Glasson, Second Advent, page 143.

31. Ibid. (Glasson quoting from Otto).

32. Cullmann, Peter, page 199.

'the end of days' is envisaged in the imagery of a sanctuary."³³

To these figures could be added the parable of the hen gathering the brood (Matt. 23:37; Luke 13:34). These figures are characteristic of Jesus and his mission, and they are firmly placed in the tradition. But merely to say that Jesus thought thus and so about his mission may not be enough. Jeremias established a principle, in the opening chapter of his book on the parables, which has already been suggested above. He says: "What must have been the effect of his word upon his hearers?"³⁴ It is a principle which can have results. Take for example the figures of speech mentioned above and apply the principle to them, and they may reveal something of the reaction of the people to Jesus. If one felt Jesus to be the true shepherd then he might submit to Jesus' protection, guidance, or direction as the sheep did in regard to the shepherd. If one believed himself in need of "spiritual health" and that Jesus had the necessary curing power, he would submit his case to Jesus. If he felt Jesus to be the architect of the eternal building, he would probably do all that he could to see that the architect provided space for him. And so the general effect of the words of Jesus may be determined in some such fashion. It seems clear that anyone who took Jesus seriously would make a reaction similar to those suggested. This is not to define the terms of discipleship. It merely asserts that Jesus made certain statements in concrete situations. A positive reaction to some of these statements meant that the one giving assent had in some way given allegiance to Jesus. That Jesus may have intended such a reaction may be reflected in the saying about the new Temple.

There is one parable within which Jesus points out what the necessary reaction to his own words must be. It is the parable of the Two Houses (Matt. 7:24-7; Luke 6:47-9). The form in Matthew is to be preferred because there the emphasis is laid upon the sudden winter storms of Palestine (not the flooding river as in Luke).³⁵ The same type of lesson was

33. Norman Perrin, The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus, page 83.

34. Jeremias, Parables, pages 19, 27.

35. Smith, Parables, page 225.

taught by the rabbis in regard to the Law.³⁶ But, Jesus, unlike the rabbis, stresses his own authority to teach, and the prophetic note does not dismiss the parable as unreliable.³⁷ The stress on authority leads to the meaning of the parable: "The contemporaries of Jesus taught that the man who knows the Torah and obeys it cannot be moved. Jesus takes them back to the Scripture, but he gives a new answer to the question, drawn from his profound consciousness of authority: 'Whoever hears my words and obeys them.' Merely hearing the word of Jesus may lead to perdition, everything depends upon obedience."³⁸ The implication of the parable is then clearly obedience to Jesus. The message and messenger demand action, the action of true obedience. Dodd sees this parable as one illustrating the intimate connection between the story and the application. In this case the two cannot be separated, and Dodd wishes to emphasize the prominent nature of the application which is a very particular reference to the hearers. "The actual listeners to the words of Jesus then and there will be as foolish, if they do not follow them, as a builder who chooses a site on floodland, with no firm foundation."³⁹

Another parable, with less explicit implication for discipleship, is the Return of the Unclean Spirit (Matt. 12:43-5; Luke 11:24-6). This parable is an adequate reply to Smith's suggestion, quoted above, that Jesus' message was repentance and not "follow me". The central figure of the parable makes a concentrated effort to set his house in order. But he makes no provision for any stage beyond that, and as a result he is responsible for the greater calamity that befalls him. It is impossible that the cleansing of the house is the end of the activity. There must be a new master of the house, "the word of Jesus must be its rule of life."⁴⁰ There is no difficulty in seeing that Jesus intends his message to fill the void. The parable is in fact a claim for discipleship.

The parables then do contain Jesus' extended and general claims to discipleship. He was not exclusive in his invitation to discipleship.

36. Smith, Parables, page 226.

37. Ibid.

38. Jeremias, Parables, page 137.

39. Dodd, Parables, page 24.

40. Jeremias, Parables, page 139.

He sought the allegiance of all who would take his message seriously. And it was precisely what would have been given by anyone who did take the message seriously and as true. Jesus was offering leadership and demanding the right to exercise some sort of authority. This is clearly shown by seeing the parables from the point of view of those who had ears to hear.

b) Jesus' relation to salvation. The calls of Levi and the young ruler indicate, as noted above, that Jesus intended discipleship to be grace. The illuminating conclusions of T. W. Manson showed Jesus equating discipleship and entrance into the Kingdom. Without Christological speculation, it has been assumed that there is an eschatological significance attached to the acceptance or rejection of Jesus. Such a conclusion should be proved from the evidence of the parables. But, in order to do this, the fact must be granted that the parables have definite theological significance. They are not stories or simply moral maxims. And they are theological in intent and purpose because they relate the Kingdom of God to everyday life.⁴¹ It is the fact that A. T. Cadoux saw the theological nature of the parables which makes his book so important, despite its several difficult interpretations.⁴² Jeremias has noted that there is an absence of theological interpretation in the work of B. T. D. Smith on the parables.⁴³ Smith has done very informative work in gathering together the material in the parables, but he is obviously reluctant to use these materials for building purposes. The reluctance to discuss the theology behind the parables detracts from his work. This is so because Jesus was not involved in a purposeless telling of stories. He spoke the parables to prove and bolster what was basic to his ministry and message. He built with them. And they demand, and give justification to any attempt to see the ultimate theological significance contained in them. The problem of Jesus' relation to salvation is one which can in part be understood through the parables.

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41. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 70.

42. Dodd, Parables, page 21, n.4.

43. Jeremias, Parables, page 18.

One of the most difficult starting points is also one of the most obvious, the Lament over Jerusalem which contains the parable of the Hen and the Chickens(Matthew 23:37-39; Luke 13:34-35). It is often suggested that the saying is some form of a Jewish prophecy which is quoted either by Jesus or the early Church. Bultmann agrees with such a suggestion on the following grounds. "A supra-historical entity, namely Wisdom," has spoken in Matthew 23:24-36, and he regards 23:37-39 as a continuation.⁴⁴ Bultmann also thinks that it would have been impossible for Jesus to have spoken of the gathering of his children, no matter how often he went to Jerusalem. He also sees a strong parallel to the Wisdom-myth which tells of Wisdom's visit to the world, the subsequent rejection, and the promise to remain concealed until Messiah comes. Also the verse is paralleled in the myth of the Archetypal man, and Bultmann regards the clinching argument to be: "The very description of the world as a 'house' in any event confirms the view that the saying derives from the myth."⁴⁵

This type of "history of religions" argument always seems rather the long way round, as though it was purposely avoiding a more simple conclusion. On the face of it, Easton's view that there is nothing to commend the Wisdom argument seems more acceptable.⁴⁶ Of course "house" may represent Temple, Jerusalem, or all Israel. T. W. Manson notes that rabbinical literature often personified the attributes of God. "But this personification is only a mode of speech. It makes for greater vividness; but it does not simply that God's justice, mercy, wisdom...are separate personal entities."⁴⁷ He also doubts that Matthew 23:37-39 is a continuation of a quotation which Luke supposedly moved to another location from 11:51. This he bases on the numerical fact that Matthew 23:34-36 and Luke 11:49-51 have a less than 50% agreement in wording while Luke 13:34-35 have almost 90% agreement. "It is difficult to believe that this wide divergence followed by almost word-for-word agreement could have taken place

44. Bultmann, History, pages 114-15.

45. Ibid., page 115.

46. Easton, Luke, page 224.

47. T. W. Manson, Sayings, page 394.

in the quotation of a single short passage of little more than a hundred words."⁴⁸

It seems that one of two interpretations should be taken here. Either Luke 13:34-5 should be detached from 11:49-51, thus making the lament over Jerusalem most probably Jesus' own words, or some relation should be maintained between the two so that Jesus is seen to be speaking the word of God much in prophetic fashion.⁴⁹ It will be seen in the interpretation of the two main points of the prophecy that either approach is acceptable to the point in question. Nonetheless it is a Q saying, and Matthew appears to have given it the more original context, although that assumption is quite debatable.⁵⁰

The main difficulty is not, however, place in the tradition or the preference of the present settings. A problem of the verse and a problem of many other verses may be summed up as: vaticinium ex eventu. Therefore, the prophecy is sometimes judged as follows: "But the words are spoken from the point of view of later Christians, who saw the house, i.e. God's temple in Jerusalem, forsaken and desolate."⁵¹ This particular tool of biblical criticism may often appear to be more significant than it is, especially in relation to such a general prophecy as contained in these verses and somewhat paralleled by the Old Testament prophets. Perhaps if there are no other grounds upon which to dismiss such a prophecy except that it has come true, then there may be no grounds upon which to dismiss it. In the first instance it is not a logical process. Are all the accurate prophecies of the prophets of the Old Testament to be dismissed because they were evidently correct? For another example, is the student of the history of the Second World War to assume that predictions concerning the aims and dangers of Hitler are to be regarded as non-historical because they proved to be accurate? It does not seem impossible that Jesus might have seen either a political or spiritual situation which was leading to the destruction of the Temple. As noted above, one of his prophecies con-

48. Manson, Sayings, page 394.

49. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, pages 61-2; Glasson, Second Advent, pages 95-6.

50. Easton, Luke, page 223; B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, page 254.

51. S. E. Johnson, The Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 540.

cerning the destruction of the Temple is often regarded as authentic because it errs in the description of the means of that destruction. But not only is this objection to the verse lacking in logic, it is in this instance lacking in feeling for the parable and its predictions. The parable is rent out of a veil of anguish. Jesus had longed for Jerusalem, she was the spiritual capitol of the people he had sought to win. Yet, Jerusalem would not be won. In the sorrow of the moment the sight of the bird fluttering to protect her young came to his mind. Just as the bird would protect her young, gathering them under outstretched wings, so he would protect Jerusalem. This is not an unexpected attitude for Jesus to have taken. As has already been argued, there seems to have been a correlation between discipleship and entrance into the Kingdom. He had in a similar parable spoken of his own words as a secure foundation against the possible coming of the flood. There would appear to be some justification for Easton's comment: "The contents of the saying need no defence; nothing is more certain than Christ's convictions that His teaching alone could protect the people from the coming evils."⁵²

There are two primary considerations in the parable. The first is the predictions of some type of destruction to befall Jerusalem or the Temple. That such a prophecy might have been possible for Jesus seems quite probable and may be equal to other statements about the Temple. Of course it is not certain that the prophecy is concerned with the Temple, since generally the Temple is spoken of as God's house. If this is not the case it may be that Jerusalem is seen as representative of Israel. In any event the two would probably go together. T. W. Manson has attempted to show that a prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem is paralleled in Jewish liturgy.

The words 'Blessed is he...' are a quotation from Ps. 118:26, a psalm which has connexions with the great pilgrim feasts of Judaism, but especially with the Feast of Tabernacles...Now in the Jewish liturgy the prophetic lesson appropriated to Ta-

52. Easton, Luke, page 224.

bernacles in Zech. 14, which begins with the prophecy of the desolation of Jerusalem(Zech. 14:1f.), followed by the promise that God will then appear to establish His Kingdom over the whole earth(Zech. 14:9). 53

And the entire saying is very close to 2 Esdras 1:28-33.⁵⁴ J.A.T. Robinson sees a very similar prophecy issued frequently in Jeremiah at 25:4, 12:7, 7:32-4, and 8:12.⁵⁵ The prophecy then means that Jesus viewed the rejection of his message and ministry as having placed Israel in a precarious position.

The second part of the prediction has to do with protecting or saving action as represented by the bird protecting her brood. The similitude has an almost exact counterpart in Isaiah 31:5 where God protects Jerusalem as a fluttering bird protects her young. If the similitude is made to apply to God it means that Jesus attributed to God the longing to gather and shelter Israel. But this does not alter the saving significance of Jesus' ministry. "The day of Jerusalem's visitation has arrived: his own ministry was that coming of God to his people to which all along their history had been leading and in which now finally their responsibility was focused."⁵⁶ However, it may be argued that the parable was applied by Jesus to his own ministry. "Jesus transfers the similitude to himself. Before the oncoming destruction which threatened Jerusalem like the swoop of an attacking bird of prey upon a clutch of chickens, Jesus had watched, longing to overshadow, deliver, spare, and protect."⁵⁷ Jesus did seem to view the prospects of eschatological and/or temporal destruction and a future judgment as real. The parable is a direct confirmation that he believed and taught he had the power to save from destruction. Such a parable must have fostered high expectations in the minds of his followers. He could have saved Jerusalem if only she had listened. He would have made available the deliverance of God.

53. Manson, Sayings, page 420.

54. Glasson, Second Advent, page 97.

55. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, page 62.

56. Ibid., pages 62-3.

57. Jeremias, Parables, page 125.

Another parable of importance in this connection is the one concerning the Pharisee and the Publican(Luke 18:9-14). As a background to the parable it is necessary to notice and original aspect of Jesus' ministry. Jesus was concerned with the outcast, the immoral, the unclean, and the publican. The publican was especially prominent in Jesus' activity. He called Levi and took dinner with Levi's associates. He visited the home of Zacchaeus, a chief among the publicans(Luke 19:2), and he extended to him the grace of God. On the whole this background of the parable is not used by commentators. Montefiore has written with great clarity about Jesus' ministry to the outcast, but his comments on this parable are mainly an apology in regard to the Pharisees.⁵⁸ William Manson leaves the parable hanging as a religious maxim. He says: "The parable admirably illustrates the method of inculcating a lesson by contrasting two types of character, each being brought separately on the stage."⁵⁹ But the parable so devised is more than a religious truth about forgiveness. It deals with more than self-righteousness and "heavenborn discontent".⁶⁰ The background of Jesus' ministry is proof enough. But to seal the argument one need only note from any concordance of the Bible that the word "publican" is used nowhere in the scripture except in the context of Jesus' ministry, save one reference to John the Baptist. In Jesus' ministry it is mentioned on sixteen occasions. The principle of forgiveness, developed in the parable, had been put into action. And in view of this, the parable demands a concrete application. And while "the parable can scarcely have failed to startle and cause offence,"⁶¹ no less did the action of Jesus cause astonishment and rebuke. Where else in the whole of the biblical history were publicans being offered grace and salvation except in the ministry of Jesus? The parable is produced by the situation. Jesus' extension of God's mercy to the publican and sinner was justified by such a parable as this. Jeremias gives the correct interpretation: "The cha-

58. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, pages 555-58.

59. W. Manson, The Gospel of Luke, page 202.

60. T. W. Manson, Sayings, page 604.

61. Smith, Parables, page 178.

racter of God, says Jesus, is such as is described in Ps. 51. He welcomes the despairing, hopeless sinner, and rejects the self-righteous. He is the God of the despairing, for the broken heart his mercy is boundless. That is what God is like, and that is how he is now acting through me."⁶² The parable was a defense of Jesus' right to extend the mercy to the sinner. So must his hearers have thought when they heard the words of "a friend of publicans."

The parable of the Mustard Seed is firmly placed in the tradition, being located both in Mark and Q.⁶³ Its importance lies in a revelation of Jesus' thinking concerning the Kingdom.⁶⁴ Dodd wished to emphasize that the parable reflects his position of realized eschatology. He does this by pointing out that Mark(4:30-32), in contrast to the Q version (Luke 13:18-19, Matthew 13:31-32), adds the emphasis upon the smallness of the seed. He assumes that Mark has added this emphasis to reveal his own conclusion that the Church has a small beginning, but from it will grow the Kingdom of God.⁶⁵ This would leave the way open for saying that the seed has grown into the tree which already affords protection to the birds. This would, of course, mean that the Kingdom was completely present in a saving way in Jesus' ministry. Certainly there is an indication that the Kingdom was presently being realized in the activity of Jesus, however, it is doubtful that Dodd's contention that the smallness of the seed was simply Mark's emphasis, since that seed, whether the smallest or not, was proverbial because of its size.

The parable is one of growth, so Smith says: "The parable illustrates the truth that one can form no conception of the eventual magnitude of a thing from its first beginnings."⁶⁶ Yet the parable does more than illustrate a truth. It is connected to the activity of Jesus. Following Dodd, Taylor says: "The best interpretations connect the parable with the situation of Jesus, who saw the Kingdom as a present reality, a Rule of God em-

62. Jeremias, Parables, pages 114-5.

63. Taylor, Mark, page 268.

64. Ibid.

65. Dodd, Parables, page 142.

66. Smith, Parables, page 118.

bracing within ~~its~~ sweep all peoples, both actually and in promise."⁶⁷ The main point of the parable comes in relating it to Jesus' life. It seemed unlikely that "...from the poor little band of Jesus' disciples... God was causing his Kingdom to grow."⁶⁸ "The preaching and healing mission of the Carpenter of Nazareth hardly seems to usher in the new age. Yet it does."⁶⁹ Jesus was challenged. The challenge indicates he had made claims^{that} through his person, in some manner, the Kingdom was being manifested. The parable was justification for the fact that in his ministry men had to deal, at the very least proleptically, with the reality of the Kingdom.⁷⁰ The parable was important to the hearer. It claimed, despite the present small appearance, the Kingdom was being realized in the ministry of Jesus. The one who accepted his claim thereby saw his salvation bound up with Jesus.

The parables, coming as they do in the midst of controversy, show how salvation, with in the Kingdom of God, and Jesus were united. Jesus' claim to this fact was challenged, and he defended his right in the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Publican and the Pharisee. Likewise the parable of the Hen and the Chickens is produced by Jesus' ministry. It reveals his striking faith that if only Jerusalem would accept him he could protect here Jesus claimed the right in his ministry to give the mercy of God to the outcast; he justified his claim that the sheltering power of the Kingdom of God was being made manifest was a result of his activity; he said he could protect against destruction. He claimed that the power of salvation was connected with his ministry.

c) Communal relationships. The closely knit, fully evolved Church community, with a common worship and intricate doctrinal systems, is not to be sought in Jesus' ministry. Only the group of disciples and Master does form a definite continuous community. But the possibility of a new people of God in the intention of Jesus should not be dismissed. While the parables are not explicit in this connection, the implications

67. Taylor, Mark, page 269.

68. Jeremias, Parables, page 91; see also Hunter, Parables, page 43; Swete, Parables of the Kingdom, page 36.

69. T. W. Manson, Sayings, page 415.

70. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, page 210; Otto, The Kingdom of God, page 123.

cannot be avoided.

The similies used by Jesus to show the nature of his mission as a deliverer include physician(Mk. 2:17) and shepherd(Mt. 15:24 and 25:32; Lk. 12:32).⁷¹ Being a patient of a certain physician does not necessarily join one in direct contact to another patient. But, in Mark's account, in which the similie arises, there is a table-fellowship because Jesus is the physician. And this activity as a "physician" does bring a certain group under his care. The similie of the shepherd is more exact in this connection. In Matthew's account of Jesus' encounter with the Canaanite woman, Jesus depicts himself as a shepherd to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The possible particularism of the verse seems to assure its authenticity.⁷² And the best shepherd cannot hope to reclaim all the lost sheep. Some in fear will have wandered into pits and ravines; some will have been caught by wild animals. Hence the shepherd's flock will be composed of those sheep he is able to bring together. The shepherd does presuppose a flock.

The parable of the Dragnet is contained in Matthew 13:47-50. However, only verse 47 seems to be an authentic parable of Jesus.⁷³ So the basic parable is: "Again the kingdom of Heaven is like a net let down into the sea, where fish of every kind were caught in it"(NEB). The parable is a return to the call of discipleship in Mark 1:17. It also suggests the activity of fishing for men. And here all men are drawn together by the dragnet. So it is with the ministry of Jesus. He brings into the scope of the kingdom all types and kinds of men. Through Jesus' activity, as the parable discloses, the kingdom draws men together.

The parable of the Great Feast(Luke 14:16-24; Matthew 22:2-14) should have come as no surprise to any person acquainted with Jesus.

71. Joremiias, Parables, pages 96-97.

72. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, page 228, following Harnack.

73. Dodd, pages 140-1; Montefiore, II, page 214 with some reservation about 49 and 50; Otto, pages 99-102 accepts 47; Manson, Sayings, pages 489-90 accepts 47 and suggests 48-50 are "Matthaen embroidery", a most probable conclusion.

The common meal, table-fellowship, and the breaking of bread are frequently found in the Gospels. That Jesus should use a parable relating to this aspect of his ministry is not unexpected. However, there are interpretations which tend to relate it mainly to the future Kingdom.⁷⁴ This is the position taken by Norman Perrin.

The table-fellowship in this teaching is...symbolic of the perfect personal relationship that will exist between God and that blessed eschatological community that will be for ever in his presence. 75

Undoubtedly there are references here to the heavenly banquet and the Old Testament ideas relating to it.⁷⁶ But it is questionable that this is the decisive reference. However, before suggesting what is more basic than the future or symbolic element, it should be pointed out that there is an explicit communal relationship in regard to the Kingdom. It suggests that men in table-fellowship will participate in the joys of the Kingdom of God. As will be insisted in the chapter on the Kingdom of God, there is a community implication involved in the manifestation of the God's Kingdom. However, the question raised here is whether that community does or does not exist until some future date. Or to ask the question another way: Was Jesus already preparing a fellowship which would be continuous with the future eschatological community? If so there must be a present interpretation of the verse.

Bultmann's contention that the original parable had no application may warn against the possibility of any clear-cut decision regarding the meaning.⁷⁷ It is generally assumed that Matthew has made considerable additions to the parable, perhaps conflating it with another one known to him. The addition about the king's son is not original, and the sending of armies seems to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.⁷⁸ The addition is all the more glaring since the feast is kept ready for

74. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pages 47-8.

75. Perrin, Kingdom of God, page 80, f.n. 4.

76. Smith, Parables, pages 203-4.

77. Bultmann, History, page 175.

78. Glasson, Second Advent, page 86.

the duration of the conflict. Luke has introduced the parable with a saying (verse 15) which may not have been original to it. Likewise, verse 23 appears to be an addition with a specific reference to the Gentile mission since the servant is instructed to go beyond the city boundary and out to the highways. Luke is to be preferred to the account as it is given by Matthew. And the story, as Manson suggests,⁷⁹ seems in its outline to be naturally drawn from life. It is probably at this point that the argument against a futuristic interpretation can be made most effectively. For not only does the story appear true to life, it appears true to the life of Jesus. In the first place the establishment of a table-fellowship with the outcasts was an unparalleled characteristic of the ministry of Jesus. Secondly, although Jesus' proclamation was for all Israel, there were those of the "religious aristocracy" who turned down his message. Thirdly, Jesus may very well be represented by the figure of the servant.⁸⁰ On this basis there is some justification for Dodd's interpretation.

..."Come, for all is ready," corresponds to the call of Jesus, "Repent, for the Kingdom of God has come"; and the parable suggests the rejection of that call by the "righteous", and its acceptance by "publicans and sinners." 81

Therefore, the Sitz im Leben of the parable appears logically within the ministry of Jesus. To reject his invitation of the Kingdom is to reject the fellowship of blessing. Certainly this is not to argue that the perfected eschatological community was present, still in so far as Jesus made possible a fellowship which would be continuous with the people of the fully realized future Kingdom, it may represent the gathering of the people of God.

The parables in many instances reflect the gathering of those who see and accept the coming of the Kingdom in the ministry of Jesus. Those who are gathered may be as the sheep with the same shepherd, or as fish caught by the net; but more probably they are fellows together at a great banquet. There they share the riches of the Kingdom of God.

79. Manson, Teaching, pages 83-6.

80. Manson, Sayings, page 421.

81. Dodd, Parables, page 91.

d) Separation from Judaism. The basic nature of the conflicts between Jesus and those who rejected him has been revealed in the very nature of the parables. This could not be seen from the vantage point of the allegorical interpretation. And although Jülicher could break the bonds of allegory he did not free the parables. Instead he considered them to be of a general nature intended to reveal religious truths and maxims. With this theory as a guide, he subjected the parables of Jesus to the fate of inculcating "moral precepts by striking metaphors and stories."⁸² However, the work of Cadoux showed the need for a more pointed application. The parable, according to Cadoux, was a part of real life, even of controversy and conflict.⁸³ And therefore, one is able to conclude from the parables as a whole that the ministry of Jesus did lead to conflicts. The bitter nature of the application of some of the parables and their wide-spread application do not lead to the belief that Jesus was at ease with Zion.

The deep rift and breach between Jesus and the Jewish religion of his day can be seen in the parables. To illustrate the point one can use the chapter by Cadoux entitled "Parables of Conflict."⁸⁴ The general line of the argument will be followed. And although some of his interpretations could be challenged in their specific meaning, the picture of the conflict he presents is quite accurate.

The parable of the Two Sons (Matthew 21:28-32) is directed against the Sanhedrists, a critical weapon against his enemies.⁸⁵ Cadoux sees that in their reply to Jesus' question the Sanhedrists made "their condemnation complete."⁸⁶ Jesus replies to the criticism of the scribes in the parables of the Divided House and the Strong Man (Mark 3:22-27; Matthew 12:24ff., Luke 11:15ff.). The reply comes as a result of the fierce criticism of the scribes who call Jesus an agent of the "prince of demons". The answer conveys Jesus' belief that the scribes are not only wrong but

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82. Jeremias, Parables, page 17; he gives an interesting appraisal of Jülicher's interpretations on pages 16-17.

83. Cadoux, Parables, pages 116-37.

84. Ibid.

85. Jeremias, Parables, page 100.

86. Cadoux, Parables, page 118.

that in his own ministry the Kingdom is in some manner active.⁸⁷ The story of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32) tells of the father's mercy but also of the ill-will of the elder son. The older brother is condemned by his self-righteousness and his inability to see the blessings already given to him by his father. It is a reply to the scribes and Pharisees who oppose Jesus' mission to the outcast.⁸⁸ Jeremias sees that it⁸⁹ leaves the door open for Jesus' critics to enter on his terms, but not to compromise. The parable of the Hen and Chickens, already discussed in another context, leaves no doubt that Jesus and Jerusalem were incompatible. The parabolic action of cleansing the Temple⁹⁰ and the parable of the Unjust Steward⁹¹ are directed against the high priest.

Where, in view of the conflicts indicated by the parables, does Jesus fit into the Judaism of his day? "Jesus has not come as a religious reformer to patch up the ragged robe of Pharisaic Judaism."⁹² The scribes view him as an agent of the Devil. He was attacked by Sanhedrists and Pharisees. He had no stock with the Saducees. He could see no hope for a Jerusalem which refused to accept his message. Those who did not do his words' bidding would be swept away by the floods. He aggravated the priests by his parabolical action in the Temple. The controversy and conflicts of the parables result in a cross. And this climactic conclusion gives the final answer to the "wars" of Jesus' ministry. The struggles of the parables had been between one opening up a new horizon and those who did not accept him. Could Jesus have held the convictions of Judaism as he met it, or was he bound to breach its precepts in some final manner? The parables say that the latter is the case.

e) A Ministry. C. H. Dodd's book, The Parables of the Kingdom,

87. Cadoux, Parables, page 120.

88. Ibid., page 123.

89. Jeremias, Parables, page 106.

90. Ibid., page 158.

91. Cadoux, Parables, pages 130-6.

92. Dodd, Parables, page 148.

seems to have caught most accurately the idea of the ministry of Jesus. The book continually emphasizes both the blessings of the Kingdom of God and Jesus' determination to make the blessings available to all men. "So Jesus went about the towns and villages of Galilee, seeking the lost..."⁹³ It is natural that such a conclusion should be reached after a study of the parables. Jeremias points out that many of the parables are used to vindicate the activity of Jesus among the lost.⁹⁴ To confirm this theory many parables are cited, such as the Two Debtors, the Prodigal Son, the Good Employer, Lost Sheep and Drachma, and the Pharisee and the Publican. In the context of Jesus' ministry to the lost, the parable of the Talents and Pounds is the most important. Dodd sees the parable as an accusation aimed at the pious Jew. "Simple folk, publicans and sinners, Gentiles, have no benefit from the Pharisaic observance of the Law, and God has no interest on His capital."⁹⁵ Jesus did not wish to confine the benefits of the Kingdom. He could not brook the "scrupulous discipline of Pharisaism" and took the risk of a ministry to the immoral and unclean.

But, the parables do not speak only of Jesus' ministry. The disciples and others were also given tasks. There was a harvest to be gathered. There was a call for fishers of men. Messengers were needed to extend invitations to the Great Feast.

Undoubtedly the ministry of Jesus is reflected in the parables. The sharing of that ministry by the close followers is also evident. As fishers of men they were given the authority to capture the souls and allegiance of men. As harvesters they were permitted to reap the glorious harvest of the Kingdom. As messengers they could proclaim that the table was set and the feast prepared. So the ministry seen in the parables is one of power and promise, a ministry with authority.

But what of the disciples who participated in the ministry? Who

93. Dodd, Parables, page 149.

94. Jeremias, Parables, see especially pages 100-120.

95. Dodd, Parables, page 112.

gave them the right to harvest, to fish, and to invite? Only from Jesus did they obtain the credentials of the Kingdom. No matter the messianic consequences, they served only in one name.

The parables speak clearly of the authority of Jesus and his relationship to salvation. They reveal traces of communal relationships. They exist in part because they were weapons of war, indicating the Jews' refusal of the ministry of Jesus. And in the parables the ministry of Jesus and his disciples is found frequently.

B. THE REACTION TO JESUS' MINISTRY

It is difficult to associate apathy with the ministry of Jesus. The meagre remains of his activity do not suggest anything less than a provocative activity. In some he raised a rather constant and enduring loyalty which held good despite relapses and misunderstanding of his mission. For some his words proved too hard and for others too revolutionary. So the ruler went away sorrowing; some of his disciples came to say: "This is more than we can stomach! Why listen to such words?" (John 6:60, NEB); his own family could not bear the strength of his proclamation. So the Pharisees were baffled by his association with sinners, his tendency to go beyond the Law, and a parable which promised forgiveness to a repentant publican but not to a righteous Pharisee. For some he was a threat. The old fox, Herod, sought to arrest his activity, perhaps lest another of those Galilean messianic pretenders should disturb the Roman tranquility. For the Sadducees and the Sanhedrists he was the enemy of the Temple and perhaps of a lucrative business. For some he was a promise of a day to follow the black night of exile from God's mercy. So for Levi at the toll and for Zaccaeus he was the bringer of salvation. And it was a ministry which provoked genuine disgust, fear, allegiance, joy, and violent, powerful opposition. The Synoptic gospels are full of the traces of the reaction of men to the ministry of Jesus.

For the purpose of the paper, there will be an attempt to put this reaction into perspective. Already the response of the disciples to Jesus has been studied for implication of Jesus' intention for the Church. So also the parables have been judged for their necessary effect and meaning. And, before drawing some definite conclusions, the reaction of men to Jesus, as recorded in the gospels, will be briefly surveyed. It must be admitted that much of this particular section has to be based on editorial summaries inserted by the evangelists. The arguments here are not expected to have to bear a great deal of weight on their own, and are to be seen in relation to the material already covered.

a) Reactions which suggest authority. Some of the many verses which reveal this reaction will be listed.

The people were astounded at his teaching, for unlike the doctors of law, he taught with a note of authority (Mark 1:22, NEB).

They were all dumbfounded and began to ask one another, "What is this? A new kind of teaching! He speaks with authority" (Mark 1:27, BEB).

And he got up, took his stretcher at once, and went out in full view of them all, so that they were astounded and praised God. "Never before", they said, "have we seen the like?" (Mark 2:11-12, NEB).

When the Sabbath came he began to teach in the synagogue; and the large congregation who heard him were amazed and said, "Where does he get it from?", and "What wisdom is this that has been given him?", and, "How does he work such miracles?" (Mark 6:2-3, NEB).

And as he was walking in the temple court the chief priests, lawyers, and elders came to him and said, "By what authority are you acting like this? Who gave you the authority to act in this way?" (Mark 11:27-28, NEB).

In Mark 1:27 the words καὶ ἐθαυβήθησαν αὐτόν occur. The main word is ἐθαυβήθησαν, translated "were dumbfounded" in the NEB. The verb here "has its full passive force,"⁹⁶ and this indicates the impact of Jesus' activity upon those observing him. In this respect "dumbfounded" captures some of the spirit of the reaction. But more is implied than a speechless attitude, for the word may be rendered "were astonished" or "were terrified" (II Kings 22:5).⁹⁷ It is a strong word of amazement spoken of people who were observing the authority of Jesus, both in teaching and in commanding the unclean spirits. This showing of "astonishment" at Jesus' teaching and exorcism occurred in the synagogue at Capernaum. The story of the event contains the details of the impression of the people, the attitude of the demoniac, and the comments of the people. Taylor believes that these elements place the story near to an original eye-witness.⁹⁸ There seems to be insufficient reason to dismiss

96. J. H. Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, page 283.

97. G. Abbott-Smith, A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, page 202.

98. Taylor, Mark, page 171.

the authenticity of the verse, and the question asked by J. Weiss is quite applicable: "What in these events is incredible?"⁹⁹

A logical sequence develops in the story. Jesus teaches with authority and the people are amazed. He commands the unclean spirit and again the onlookers are amazed at the power of his command. The implication in regard to Jesus goes beyond the possession of authority to the assertion of power. The comments of Montefiore on these verses indicate the nature of the possession and assertion.

99 There was something about the teaching of Jesus which is unlike the teaching of the prophets, but which makes the ascription of 'authority' still more understandable. Jesus did apparently put forward his own personality in a way which the prophets did not. The prophets declared: 'Thus says Yahweh,'...Jesus if not in so many words, yet implicitly declared: 'Thus and thus say I,'...Doubtless, by 'thus and thus say I,' he meant, thus and thus say I, who am inspired by my heavenly Father.' But he does seem to have put his own personality more into the forefront than did the prophets. And this personality of his, this personal note, seemed both to claim and to possess authority. 100

The reaction of the people is a justified one. His entire ministry had the accent of authority, and from the evidence of the events at Capernaum, it was plainly observable power. The same reaction occurs at the healing of the paralytic and at the synagogue in Nazareth. But, in the healing of the paralytic the people marvel, at Nazareth the assumption of authority brings a rejection. There is too much of a claim made by Jesus for the people of Nazareth to accept. They knew him as the carpenter's son, not as one who could say: "But I say unto you." The chief priests and elders were also displeased with Jesus' claims and actions of authority, and as others had, they demanded a sign or proof for his assertion of authority. The reaction indicates that Jesus' claims were to an authority far greater than that possessed by the

99. Taylor, Mark, page 171.

100. Montefiore, Synoptic, I, page 33.

scribes. His formula for expressing the authority was unlike the prophets, as Montefiore has suggested. There is a boldness that goes beyond the teaching of the Law. And these suggestions of authority are attested by the word ἐδουβη'θησαν. But there is a further significance of the awe-struck reaction of Jesus' hearers.

Even our meagre reports still bear sufficient testimony to the fact that the nimbus of the numinous surrounded Jesus when he came forward, spoke, or laboured...The numinous nimbus is attested in the impression, i.e., the surges of feeling which Jesus evoked in his hearers....This impression of nimbus was not that of the learned rabbi or the sage who by charm or profound words aroused wonder. Some held him to be possessed, others were filled with 'astonishment, fear, amazement'...Both testify the same, i.e. his numinous quality...Anyone attempting to reconstruct history on the basis of impression must not omit to take this impression into account...from a religio-historical standpoint...we are compelled to say that, especially in an ancient environment, no personal impression is so strong as the impression of the numinous nor so well fitted to bind together a circle of those who received the impression. 101

The authoritative nature and the "numinous" nature of the person of Jesus was a powerful combination "in an ancient environment". Otto thinks that in itself it was most fitting for binding together a circle of those who received the impression. There seems to be little doubt that it would have called for some sort of allegiance to Jesus, who manifested both authority and the powers of the Spirit. What would be the likely attitude of a person gaining this impression? It could perhaps be the reaction of the family of Jesus who seemed to associate it with a dangerous state of religious exultation, perhaps insanity. His opponents, while not denying his power, assessed it as the powers of the prince of demons. Therefore, they rejected the impression as false and blasphemous and consequently were strongly opposed to Jesus. However, if the impression seemed true and lasting, Jesus would necessarily take some sort of

authoritative place in the life of any who were so impressed. It is inevitable that such an assertion of authority, combined with the numinous quality, would sometimes evoke allegiance and a desire to follow. A person is simply not astounded by authority and gripped by something reckoned to be of eternal validity without an allegiance to it. Discipleship, loyalty, allegiance, however one wishes to define it, must mark a serious reaction to Jesus when he said: "But I say unto you" and when the people ἐδοxyβήθησαν.

b). Reactions which suggest Jesus' connection with salvation. "When they came ashore, he was immediately recognized; and the people scoured that whole country-side and brought the sick on stretchers to any place where he was reported to be. Wherever he went, to farmstead, villages, or towns, they laid out the sick in the market-places and begged him to let them simply touch the edge of his cloak, and all who touched him were cured." (Mark 6:54-56, NEB)

The words of these verses read like the summary account of one who had seen the events described. It is the same situation which is reflected in other places in the Gospels, such as the crowd about the door which made it necessary to lower the paralyzed man through the roof. Surely the people flocked to Jesus to avail themselves of his healing power. But that power was in some cases a dependent power. Its efficacy depended upon the attitude of the one to be healed, so: "He could work no miracle there, except that he put his hands on a few sick people and healed them; and he was taken aback by their want of faith" (Mark 6:5-6, NEB). On other occasions Jesus attributed the cure to the faith of the one making the demand upon his power to heal or work miracles. The reaction of the people is a testimony to their belief that operative in Jesus was the power of wholeness of body. Also, wholeness of mind seems to have received equal attention from Jesus. His care for the mind seems to be reflected in the exorcisms of demons as a constant feature of his ministry. Also the tradition reflects that the people came to him because of his ability to cast out demons.

There is an unavoidable connection between these healing powers and the operation of the Kingdom. In these same powers there is evidence of a Kingdom being realized in human experience. "Christ knew himself to be the one in whom divine victory was achieved, and in whom the powers of the kingdom as saving forces were already operative."¹⁰² So he is able to say, in a statement that even Bultmann regards as authentic because "...it has come to pass by the eschatological display of power that the public ministry of Jesus must have borne,"¹⁰³: "If I by the finger of God cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God is come upon you." This saying will be discussed more fully in the chapter on the Kingdom of God. It is mentioned here because it is a reply given to a reaction to Jesus' exorcisms.

But, the interests of Jesus seem to have penetrated more deeply than simply to wholeness of body or mind. So "salvation" was brought to the publican and sinner. It is quite probable that the reaction of the "righteous" is enough to show the reality of Jesus' quest for these people. The Pharisee was indignant that Jesus would allow an immoral person to bathe his feet with her tears. Jesus' reply was that she had been forgiven much and therefore her actions were natural. The people "grumbled" because he took salvation to the house of Zacchaeus. The salvation which he made real was not always acceptable to those who witnessed his activity. Their genuinely incredulous reaction fits with Harnack's contention that the ministry of Jesus was a "milestone" in the history of religion because he sought the outcast. The joyous response of a sinful woman and the glad repentance of a publican is proof enough that Jesus offered a new life to many. The reaction made by those who saw and heard Jesus, in the midst of a ministry of healing, restoration, and the proclamation of God's mercy, reflect Jesus' connection with salvation. In Nazareth, where despite the words of deliverance which he spoke, the townsmen challenged his authority, and their sick were not healed. The

102. Otto, The Kingdom of God, page 168.

103. Bultmann, Geschichte, page 98.

Pharisees stood condemned because they could not accept him or his terms of God's mercy. But Levi could, Zacchaeus could, an immoral woman could, and they received grace.

The reaction of the people points up the truth in his quotation of Isaiah:

The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me;

He has sent me to announce good news to the poor,

To proclaim release for the prisoners and recovery of sight
for the blind;

To let the broken victims go free,

To proclaim the year of the Lord's favour. (Luke 4:18-19, NEB)

He was anointed by the Spirit of the Lord which is the basis for his activity. For by the Spirit he cast out demons, made the diseased well, and therein manifested the reality of the Kingdom of God. "The spirit, the gift of the final age, was present, and was in him. He was anointed with it."¹⁰⁴ In the out-pouring of the Spirit in the ministry of Jesus the eschatological blessings of God were available for man's appropriation. Those who received Jesus received the blessings. It would therefore appear correct to say: "...he(Jesus) is not characterized as one among a possible many, but as the one in whom the final prediction of prophecy was fulfilled, as the eschatological saviour who preached and brought salvation."¹⁰⁵

c.) The general impression of Jesus' ministry in regard to the idea of community. Are there any justifiable implications for a community within the ministry of Jesus? Does he intend to establish a community of the followers of Jesus, or is he gathering the people of God? Those are the questions which must be answered. And probably the general impressions of Jesus' ministry are not sufficient enough in this respect to add much to the needed answer. However, there may have been some reactions to Jesus which would contribute something to the possibility that he envisioned a community. For example, as noted above, the astounding and awe-inspiring authority of Jesus, the numinous element clinging to his person, called forth allegiance and loyalty. The authority of

104. Otto, The Kingdom of God, page 169.

105. Ibid.

his teaching would tend to make it the basic understanding of religion for those whom it attracted. And the saying, "whoever hears my words and does them," suggests that such was Jesus' intention. There is a tendency evident in the Synoptics which shows the desire of some to follow after Jesus. Although he rejects those who cannot bear the cost and others who look back, he is nonetheless, reflected as one to be followed. He may in fact have had more disciples than is generally thought (Easton). The ministry as a whole reveals the rather constant element of table-fellowship and the common meal. One of the most important and obvious things about the activity of Jesus is the experience of joy which he affords to many and the promise of joy he holds out to others. "...we have concluded that the eschatological era had really begun at least with the work of Jesus, and that the prophesied messianic age was already present in a measure..."¹⁰⁶ Promises of joy and its present experience logically imply a community, a community of grace, conceivably with its own way of life. "The ethics called for in the Beatitudes are not so much ethics of obedience as of grace."¹⁰⁷

To avoid the significance of these impressions would be to avoid a portion of the ministry of Jesus. And the implications would seem to be partially communal. True enough there was no "organized" Church, but there was a community of greater or lesser allegiance to Jesus, of a shared religious authority, of experience of the blessings of Jesus' ministry. In all instances the communal implications of Jesus' ministry exist because of the central position in the followers' lives which resulted from the way in which Jesus presented himself and his message. In all cases he is the pivotal element of life, for his words give security against storms and have the authority of God, and his ministry makes available the blessings of God's saving powers. The "community" of common loyalty, hope, and authority already existed in Jesus' earthly ministry.

106. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, page 111.

107. Ibid., page 113.

Jesus' explicit invitation to make himself of utmost importance in life for men is seen in his saying: "Come to me, all whose work is hard, whose load is heavy; and I will give you relief. Bend your neck to my yoke, and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble-hearted; and your souls will find relief. For my yoke is good to bear, my load is light" (Matthew 11:28-30, NEB). Montefiore, following Loisy, suggests that the verse is a compilation and restatement of Jeremiah 6:16 and Sirach 51:23. And mainly on these grounds he suggests that: "The historical accuracy of the passage is very dubious."¹⁰⁸ But he continues to say: "The demands of Jesus are few and easy; he asks only for faith and loyalty and love, and he comes to the simple folk with no pride or haughtiness, nor despising but loving them, and seeking to save."¹⁰⁹ On the basis of the latter quote, the words do appear to fit within the context of Jesus' ministry, which offered a contrast to the details and rules of Rabbinic interpretation. T. W. Manson, in pointing out that Jesus could have spoken these words in regard to the yoke, sees no reason to dismiss the verses as inauthentic.¹¹⁰ The real point of Manson's acceptance of the verses is their compatibility with Jesus, a compatibility which Montefiore also notes. And Bultmann sums up the discussion: "His church received the impression of him which it expressed by putting into his mouth these words..."¹¹¹ Actually spoken by Jesus or appropriate to his mission, the alternative makes little difference, in either case he was binding men together with the "easy" burden of his yoke, a yoke which was the opposite of that of normative Judaism.

The promise of the community to be found in Jesus' ministry may be based upon the sharing of a common attitude toward Jesus. It is adequately summarized as those who are joined together by having bent their necks to the same yoke, the yoke of Jesus.

108. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, pages 176-7.

109. Ibid.

110. T. W. Manson, Sayings, pages 477-9.

111. Bultmann, Jesus, page 83.

d.) Impressions suggesting separation. In writing on chapters seven and eight of the Gospel of John, C.H. Dodd deals with what he calls: "Light and Life: Manifestation and Rejection".¹¹² He is concerned here with the conflicts between Jesus and the Jewish authorities.

The episode, therefore, taken as a whole, may be regarded as corresponding in some sort both to those passages in the Synoptic Gospels which depict the conflicts of Jesus with the authorities, leading to His arrest and condemnation (e.g. Mark ii. 13, iii. 6, xi.27, xii.12), and to those which contain explicit predictions of the Passion. The Johannine method of presentation is superior in dramatic force and in theological depth, but it has the same effect, of making the reader aware that, from this point on, all that is said and done takes place in view of an irreconcilable conflict destined to end in the death of Jesus. 113

Even with allowance made for John's interpretation of the conflicts between Jesus and "the Jews", a basis in history is very probable. And Dodd sees a similarity between John and the Synoptic Gospels in the matter of the rift between Jesus and Israel. But, Montefiore, in what may be a classic stilling of troubled waters, could reduce his historical feeling for tension enough to say: "There is no reason to believe that in his short ministry (up to Jerusalem) Jesus encountered any very serious opposition. Perhaps toward the end he had to be a little careful, but that is all."¹¹⁴ It would be very interesting to possess a definition for "very serious opposition". If it means that Jesus had not yet been physically attacked, Montefiore is probably correct. The Romans had not gained any interest in him, and perhaps the priests were not plotting his death. However, he had already encountered serious rejection. His family reckoned him insane. The doctors of the Law had passed judgment on him; it was a very serious charge brought against him because he was being classified as a henchman of the Devil (Mark 3:22). The scribes

112. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, pages 345-54.

113. *Ibid.*, page 354.

114. Montefiore, *Synoptic*, I, page 306.

come back again with the stinging summary of his actions and dealings with the paralytic: "This is blasphemy!" (NEB, Mk. 2:6f.) and some of the people were making comments: "They were saying that he was out of his mind" (NEB, Mk. 2:21). The exchanges between Jesus and the Pharisees need not be enumerated, and despite the possible intensification by the evangelists, the impression received is inevitably that some of the Pharisees were implacably opposed to Jesus. And because they may not have been in a position to arrest him or to do him bodily harm, does not mean that they were reluctant to use the weapons at their disposal to attack him.

Dodd's statement of an irreconcilable conflict destined to end in the death of Jesus has a basis in fact. But, the probability is greatly increased by the events in Jerusalem. And despite the use of the sources by the evangelists to strengthen the case against the Jews and to some extent to exonerate Pilate, there is no reason to doubt that Jesus was out of favour with the people. Mark 14:51 implies that his support had broken in the face of powerful opposition. And although the penetration into the intrigues and charges of the Passion remains difficult and problematic or perhaps impossible, no impression emerges that Jesus was acceptable to the people he had come to save. Only one picture is unmistakably clear and it is enough: They crucified him. And there can be no more straight-forward statement of the breach between Jesus and Judaism than the suffering summary of the crucifixion. His claim to authority was rejected, and the impression of significant and basic hostility to Jesus is unavoidable.

e.) Impression of a ministry. The general impression of Jesus' ministry has been the object of the present section of the material and need not be repeated here. It has been treated already in regards to the response of the disciples, Jesus' opponents, and those who might have attached great significance to his work and words.

And a consideration of the ministerial activity of the disciples has already been given. There are some hints as to their accomplishments and failures. On one occasion their work seems to have been a great encouragement to Jesus. But, at another point, their inability to heal provoked a sigh of weariness from him. They seem to have been jealous of their granted authority and hence brought claims against an "unauthorized" exorcist. However, these impressions are few, and the main bulk of the question has been considered in material already covered and which will be summarized below.

C. A SUMMARY AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

In the age of extensive ecumenical activity it still remains improbable that a uniformly acceptable definition of "the Church" will soon emerge. And the range of meanings given to "the Church" is wide from the "theoretical" standpoint and enormous in practical application. The term "Church" covers a wide range of communal responses to Jesus. From the magnificent yet bulky liturgy of Roman Catholicism to the single yet Spirit-filled silence of the Friends is a distance almost incalculable. In fact the varied opinions on the meaning of "the Church" might well suggest that the present paper should seek a modern definition before seeking the will of Jesus. Or it might be possible to draw the conclusion that Jesus intended the Church, only to be confronted with the question: Which Church? While the suggestion to define "Church" in its modern usage may seem plausible, it is not really valid. For if Jesus' intention for his followers is not recoverable in the synoptic Gospels then Jesus of Nazareth becomes of problematical importance, even if a uniformly acceptable definition of the Church was available. In such a case the most important people for the Church would be the ones who interpreted his ministry and experienced the presence of the Resurrected Lord. If, on the other hand, something of Jesus' intention can be isolated, one would expect to find some basic formula for the Church within that intention. That seems to be the case. It seems probable that Jesus established a community which did interpret his significance. The next step in proving it to be so will be an attempt to summarize the results of the preceding chapters.

First, however, the obvious should be stated again in regard to "The Church". Church will not indicate an institution, finished and complete, already fully established in Jesus' ministry.

Most Christians are fully conditioned, by doctrinal considerations, to attribute to Jesus of Nazareth an unusual amount of

authority. It is quite a natural process, but at the same time it tends to make a startling fact rather a normal part of the religious life. It fails to throw into bold relief an assumption of authority which is both vigorous and demanding. The claims of authority made by Jesus all stem from the way in which he put forward his own personality. This is in direct contrast to saying such and such is true because it is from the Law, or because it is rational. The validity of his teaching is guaranteed simply because he has done the teaching. Hence he used those startling prefaces: "But I say to you" and "verily, verily I say". And the personal claims of authority made by Jesus are to be seen in every facet of his ministry. Almost without warning Mark introduces the commanding call of Jesus into the lives of Peter, Andrew, James, and John. The principle of their lives became "follow me" because of the authoritative summons of Jesus. The same assertion appears in the call of Levi, and the full authority is exerted in regard to the total demands put upon the young ruler. It is not limited to the calls of discipleship, for in the conflicts with the Pharisees, the authority of Jesus runs against the authority of Moses and the Law. Even the authority of the coming Kingdom is claimed by Jesus as he equated the terms of entrance into the Kingdom with discipleship. And consequently Jesus felt his authority to the point of open criticism of the Law. The most characteristic form of his teaching was the parable. And within the parables Jesus offers leadership and seems to demand some right to exercise authority. And something of a verification of this claim of authority comes in the reaction of men to the activity of Jesus. Some were astounded, and others questioned it. The authoritative claims and demands of Jesus are basic to his ministry and cannot be removed. Further they are claims and demands which might well evoke loyalty and a total allegiance. In any case it appears that his final rejection can only be based upon an unusual

claim to power.

There has been an attempt within the paper to ascertain something of the effect of Jesus' words and deeds upon the men who came into contact with him. In this instance of his claims to authority the effect is discernible. For Peter and his associates the authoritative call of Jesus meant a new and significantly, a life-long Master. Never destined to become masters themselves, the authority for them was Jesus. It takes no complicated argument to see the effect of these claims on others. The claim of the authority of the Kingdom is the claim for the pivotal position in the life of the hearer. This is, simply stated, a demand or a call for allegiance. Hence the Kingdom calls for obedience to God's will, and Jesus asks for obedience and "persevering loyalty...in all circumstances." He makes the claim that his words are the secure foundation of life and invites the thoughtful to build upon them. These authoritative claims can lead in only one direction when they are received as justified and true. They evoke allegiance and loyalty. Jesus must become the center of life for one who recognizes the validity of his claims.

The Church, early in its existence, acknowledged Jesus as "Savior", the word having the connotations of a wider world than Palestine. But the title is not falsely attributed to Jesus, as the course of his activity readily shows. The close union between Jesus and salvation has been observed in the paper on several occasions. The summary of the meaning of these occasions will attempt to reveal both Jesus' will in the matter and the effect which the claim had upon the hearer.

Schweizer, referring to the call of Levi, has noticed that Jesus brought forgiveness as an actual event. Jesus, in the case of the ruler, made the possession of eternal life dependent upon discipleship. In both of these instances he affords grace, to one it is the breaking of the barriers between the "clean and the unclean" and to the other it is

the inheritance of eternal life. These calls to discipleship are not isolated incidents, for in a series of discipleship sayings the thought reappears. In those sayings entrance into the Kingdom and discipleship to Jesus are virtually the same. In the parables the connection is so strongly drawn as to be unavoidable. And the reaction of some to his promises and activity is a confirmation of the fact that he came with an offer of salvation.

The effect of Jesus' combination of salvation with his own person can be seen in the expectations which he fostered in his disciples. These expectations are reflected in separate questions, asked by Peter and the sons of Zebedee, which reveal a confidence that in discipleship to Jesus there was salvation and even the possibility of a high office in the Kingdom. If entrance into the Kingdom was the same as discipleship then Jesus was in a real sense of the word, "saviour". If the parables reflect accurately his personal confidence that his words were security against the storms and that he could protect from destruction, he thought of himself as a saviour or deliverer. Traces of direct statements to the same effect appear in the synoptic Gospels (See the chapter on the Son of Man).

It is the testimony of the tradition that Jesus made claims concerning the efficacy of allegiance to his person. The reception or rejection of Jesus was fraught with significance. He made himself out to be the "touchstone of the Kingdom" (Wilder). For anyone who accepted those claims, as did the disciples, he was the one who had a saving power.

Community may have a very loose definition, e.g. an area of residence or religious beliefs. Jesus' activity made absolutely inevitable at least a loosely defined community, and his words seem to testify to the fact. The saying about the True Family reveals that Jesus thought of a kinship more important than that of earthly bonds. There is a new family group, composed of his brothers,

sister, and mother. And a loosely defined community is the result of his claims of authority and the powers of salvation. Any person accepting these claims would be joined to any other in a common religious belief. But, this community need not be loosely defined. The disciples form a very close community on the basis of Jesus' authority and their own expectations in regard to his person. And to return to a more loosely defined community, his words formed a common foundation for building a Church. The possessive tone of my followers, etc., indicates that Jesus was aware of the common demands for allegiance he placed upon men. The parables deliver the same verdict concerning the communal aspects of Jesus' ministry. They give evidence of the shared fellowship of the Kingdom, a shepherd for an assembled flock, those seated at the same feast, etc. And it was the impression which the Church received of him...for the members of the Church shared a common yoke, the yoke of Jesus. The community is perhaps best indicated in the thought of a new Temple and new Covenant, hence a new people of God.

An undercurrent of communal ideas and possibilities flow through Jesus' ministry, occasionally rising to the surface. And the community of belief was manifest in the disciples and was being generally established by Jesus' claims of authority and the powers of salvation. And added to these considerations there remains Rudolf Otto's thoughts concerning "the nimbus of the numinous". This impression Otto suggests, was created by the person of Jesus. As Otto reminds his readers, it is exactly this impression which would be of most force in the ancient world of which Jesus was an inhabitant. And it would be best fitted to join together those who received the impression.

Much space in this paper has been devoted to the divisions occurring between Jesus and the usual interpretation of Judaism which he encountered. The divisions appear not because Jesus was out to do combat with "the Jews" or the Pharisees or any other group. In fact

he desired to minister to the Jews, the Pharisees, and to the nation as a whole. The breach appears for one reason; Jesus, whether because he thought himself to be Messiah or endowed prophet of the Kingdom, put forward his own personality. He made claims and promises unacceptable to many. The truth of the statement is borne out by his ministry.¹¹⁵ In Nazareth, he was a carpenter's son, and it was not possible that he could possess the authority which he claimed. His family considered him mad with some sort of spiritual exultation, most probably connected with the claims which he was making. He concluded that he had the right to minister to the unclean and to take to them the mercy of God. He broke the Law concerning the Sabbath and he justified his action. He contrasted his own authority with that of Moses. The projection of his own person as the sign of the times was the stumbling block. It constituted the basic foundation of the breach. The result is not so much that Jesus would not have Judaism but that Judaism would not have Jesus, at least not on his terms. The result was not only an endless round of controversies but a final complete breach between the two.

How did the followers of Jesus fare in the midst of these controversies? An attempt to answer the question has been suggested above. After a study of the Synoptic gospels one cannot readily see how the disciples could ever be anything except "Christians". They were nurtured on these conflicts of Jesus' ministry. They heard his parabolic attacks on his opponents. They had highest expectations of him, not of the Law or the Temple although both of them remained a part of their religious life. Jesus was The Authority for them. And it is because they accepted Jesus, and Judaism as a whole did not, that the ultimate breach was established. Some would say that this divi-

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115. T. W. Manson, The Servant Messiah, 1961 (Paper). pages 61-2.
 "For Jesus the thing of first importance, the only thing of any importance is his own Ministry...For him it is the only thing in the world that comes with an absolute and unqualified claim. Not even the Law can compare with this supreme obligation... If the Law stands in the way of that work, so much the worse for the Law." (pages 61-2)

sion is really between the true Israel and an unrepentant Israel. This may be the case and the true Israel is a fulfilled Israel, made new through the ministry of Jesus. And he remains the distinction between what may be called the "two Israels".

Jesus' ministry was a unique one. It searched out the lost and brought healing and salvation. His activity he defended and explained by the use of the parables. And it was a ministry which he shared with his followers. They were also servants of the coming Kingdom, sent out with authority and the invitation of the Kingdom. They were the bearers of peace and salvation.

After the summary of the material given above, certain conclusions concerning Jesus' intention for the Church will be suggested. Does he intend his own activity to help establish the people of God or his own community? The material summarized in this chapter seems to suggest that he did. It is best stated by saying that Jesus sought to make himself the pivotal point of life in so far as he made manifest the power of the Kingdom. That is not to say that he made claims to divinity nor necessarily to the usual kind of Messiahship. But he did make absolute claims. He called people such as the disciples with the force of this authority. He presented it in the form of parables, and the general impression of his ministry was one of authority. This claim by itself could not support the theory that he envisaged the people of God or the new Israel. But it is immediately connected with the claim to the powers of salvation, a claim already traced through his ministry. He exhibited an authority which demanded allegiance. The nature of that allegiance is determined to be of eternal significance when it is united with salvation. There were those for whom his words were the authority in contrast to all other authority and for whom his person was intimately connected with salvation. On the other hand there were those who attached no such significance to him. In other words, as a result of the claims he made, there were those who fol-

lowed and those who did not. Those followers, coming as the result of the claims he made and they accepted, formed, not the completed Church, but the eschatological congregation as it was being established. They were the congregation of Jesus. And the idea of "congregation" or "corporate existence" in the intention of Jesus is affirmed in many places. The disciples were with him; their lives clustered about his. He talked of a True Family and possibly of a Little Flock. He was perhaps a shepherd gathering a flock. He was offering men the common table of the Kingdom. And the distinction between Jesus' followers and normative Judaism was being irrevocably established.

The conclusion that Jesus' intention included the gathering of the eschatological community seems a possible and perhaps logical conclusion from the material which has already been considered. But to draw out the conclusion, the early days of the Church will be examined. If the examination reveals the constitutive elements of that fellowship to be the same as those suggested in the present conclusion, then the conclusion may perhaps be verified.

In the examination of the early Church consideration will be given to the possibility that the Resurrection or some post-Easter event, such as Pentecost, may be the sole explanation for the establishment of the Church, thus removing Jesus' intention. If this cannot be demonstrated and the Kingdom of God does not preclude the possibility of the Church from the purpose of Jesus, it would seem that then some positive conclusions might be drawn. This seems to leave five questions to be answered. Did the significance of the Kingdom for Jesus forbid the Church or make it possible? Does the early Church appear to be a necessary development from the pattern of Jesus' ministry? Can the Church be explained exclusively in terms of Easter or post-Easter events? Can the arguments adduced in this paper answer comprehensive objections to the Church in the mind of Jesus? Can a specific conclusion be reached? It is proposed that

this chapter and the preceding ones have opened and supported the possibility that a new people of God were gathered by Jesus. However, no conclusive argument may be stated until the questions listed above have been answered.

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE CHURCH

In his excellent history of New Testament study and meaning, Floyd V. Filson makes a summary statement about the Kingdom of God in the message of Jesus.¹ He notes the following general conclusions. (i) The central theme of the preaching of Jesus in the Synoptics is the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God and its equivalent term Kingdom of Heaven are frequently used indicating the importance. (ii) The general meaning of Kingdom of God is "...the kingly rule of God."² This rule was about to be established, adding a note urgency and a call for preparation to the preaching of Jesus.³ Thus the eschatological element enters since man's history is coming to a climax. (iii) The coming of the Kingdom meant both judgement and grace. All deserved judgement, but the penitent faithful would be given grace. (iv) The free nature of grace does not eliminate ethical necessities. "Those who knew God, and understood what ~~amiracle~~his gracious gift of the Kingdom was, understood also that to repent and believe meant to turn from the old way of life and live in faith and obedience."⁴ (v) The Kingdom had a present realisation in the ministry of Jesus, however its full completion lay in the future.

To say that such a summary is accepted universally would be an error. But it does not vary greatly from the conclusions of Gösta Lundström⁵ and more recently, Norman Perrin.⁶ Both of these authors traced the development of the Kingdom of God discussions, and it is

1. Floyd V. Filson, A New Testament History, 1965. pages 94-97.

2. Ibid., page 95.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., page 96.

5. Gösta Lundström, The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus, 1963 (First published 1947).

6. Norman Perrin, The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus, 1963.

somewhat surprising to see them revealing any consensus on such a turbulent problem. What has lead to the possibility of any consensus and to a general summary as done by Filson? To answer the problem we may often follow the guide of Lundström and Perrin.

Where does the question begin? Albert Schweitzer starts with H. S. Reimarus, who according to Schweitzer, saw the central place of the Kingdom of God in the preaching of Jesus.⁷ Perrin begins with Schleiermacher because of the centrality of the concept of the Kingdom in his theology.⁸ And for about the same reason Lundström begins with Albrecht Ritschl. "Notwithstanding all the criticisms that can be levelled at Ritschl's interpretation of the Kingdom of God, it remains to his credit that he brought the subject to the forefront of theological discussion."⁹ Despite these starting places the focus of attention soon turns to Johannes Weiss, who most powerfully put forward the thesis that the Kingdom of God was the basic element in Jesus' preaching.¹⁰ That Weiss was the prime mover is obvious from the attitude of Perrin¹¹ and Lundström.¹² Lundström even views the question under such headings as "Before Johannes Weiss" and "After Johannes Weiss". By adding the eschatological concept to the definition of the Kingdom and by denying the liberal social interpretation, Weiss drew substantial attention to the centrality of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' preaching. The storm may have raged over the meaning of the Kingdom, but now the place of that Kingdom had been securely harboured.¹³ Schweitzer then popularized what Weiss had already begun. In addition he emphasized the importance of the Kingdom in the thinking of Jesus by suggesting that Jesus' death was for the purpose of bringing in the Kingdom.¹⁴ As early as 1908 the British writer F. C. Burkitt adopted virtually the same position in an essay on the parable of the wicked husband-

7. Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, page 16, also pages 13-26 for a complete discussion.

8. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 13-14.

9. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 7.

10. Johannes Weiss, Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes (2nd. Edit.), pages 69f.

11. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 16-23.

12. Lundström, The Kingdom of God.

13. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 28.

14. Schweitzer, Quest, page 389.

man.¹⁵ In Britain during the following years C. H. Dodd¹⁶ and T. W. Manson among others kept a focus on the importance of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus.¹⁷ Rudolf Bultmann added to the consensus opinion concerning the primary nature of the Kingdom of God preaching.¹⁸

This discussion gives backing to Filson's comment that the Kingdom of God was the central theme in Jesus' preaching. Certainly it has been so recognized by New Testament scholars since Weiss and Schweitzer. The degree of consensus, however, begins to drop at this point. Filson's second statement of summation does not come through without static. When an attempt is made to define this central theme some disagreement arises. Lundström¹⁹ and Perrin²⁰ both look back to Gustaf Dalman as a most influential exegete of "Kingdom of God". And Dalman's main conclusion was:

No doubt can be entertained that both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature מלכות, when applied to God, means always the "kingly rule," never the "kingdom" as if it were meant to suggest the territory governed by Him. 21

Perrin accepts this definition in an aggressive way, giving the impression of one forcefully holding Dalman to his word. He would not, as Filson does, see "kingly rule" as a general definition but as the only one.²² If this is done to maintain the fact that "...the Kingdom is God's Kingdom....,"²³ it is acceptable. However, if it is to exclude the possible implication of the King's territory then it must be questioned. There is no reference in Perrin's book to Sverre Aalen who does this questioning quite

15. Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, Vol. II., article "Parable of the Wicked Husbandman" by F.C. Burkitt, pages 322-3.

16. C.H. Dodd, Parables of the Kingdom.

17. T.W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, especially pages 116-284.

18. Rudolf Bultmann, Jesus and the Word.

19. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 232.

20. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 23-28.

21. Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus (Eng. Trans. D.M. Kay). page 94.

22. Perrin, Kingdom of God, page 24.

23. Lundström, Kingdom of God, page 232.

well.²⁴

Before reviewing Aalen's study it is necessary to say that, despite formidable opposition,²⁵ he should logically have some sort of case. First of all one would question the limiting of Jesus to one usage only of the term Kingdom of God. B. W. Robinson in a simple review shows that the term had a variety of backgrounds, and he assumes that Jesus could and did use the term in a variety of ways.²⁶ Certainly the term meant different things to the Zealots and the Pharisees indicating that it was not bound to one usage. Even James Moffatt who succinctly backs Dalman by saying "...in a word 'reign' rather than 'domain'..." immediately finds exceptions to the definition (Matt: 21:43; Luke 22: 29-30).²⁷

Secondly, can kingship fail to imply a sphere or domain? H. B. Sharman stated the matter thus: "That phrase, the Kingdom of God, is utterly devoid of content if there be none to yield allegiance."²⁸ This is not to question the priority of the reign but to show the logical necessity for the realm. And beyond what seems to be a need of reason, does malkuth mean more than kingly reign? Rudolf Otto suggests that it does by examining the usage in I Chron. 2:11ff, which not only mentions the divine kingship but the area of rule as well. In fact Otto says that it is impossible to conceive of kingship without a kingdom.²⁹ To support this contention, many New Testament scholars see that this area or sphere of domain is needed to fill out the meaning of the word. Indeed they claim to be able to identify this sphere. The views of several scholars will be listed below.

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24. Sverre Aalen, "Reign' and 'House' in the Kingdom of God in the Gospels", New Testament Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, April 1962. Pages 214-240.
25. Schweitzer, Quest, supports a one-sided view as follows: "Progress always consists in taking one or other of two alternatives, in abandoning the attempt to combine them" (p. 238). Among those who have avoided the combination are : Bultmann, Jesus, pages 37-8 and to a lesser degree K. L. Schmidt, et. al., Basileia, pages 33-4.
26. B. W. Robinson, The Sayings of Jesus, 1930. pages 205-6.
27. James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels, 1912. page 62.
28. H. B. Sharman, Son of Man and Kingdom of God, 1943. page 138.
29. Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, pages 34-5.

Alan Richardson: It is difficult to take up an attitude towards an abstract noun such as 'reign' or 'kingdom', but the issue is made concrete and personal in Jesus, who is the embodiment of the kingly rule of God... 30

T. W. Manson: It (Peter's Confession) was in fact the recognition of the Kingdom in the person of Jesus: and with that recognition the Kingdom could be said to have come. 31

G. Lundström: The present Kingdom is concentrated in Jesus... 32

Gerhard Gloege: In the person of Jesus the rule of God is both present and future simultaneously. 33

There are some indications then that Kingdom of God cannot be exclusively defined as "Kingly rule". Aalen's investigation will be reviewed to see what foundation it gives for any broader definition.³⁴ Aalen notes immediately that no official translation of the Bible has followed Dalman's definition (215). This is in spite of the fact that Dalman was basically correct in defining the term in regard to its Jewish usage. For Aalen, however, this is no concession, it is rather like a trap. He reasons that if the meaning is the same in the Synoptics as in Jewish thought then the usage would be similar. According to Aalen it is not similar. For proof he lists several conclusions.

(i) In the Jewish references God is frequently spoken of as 'king'. The Synoptic material rarely does so and probably not in the same sense (217).

(ii) If Jesus used the term to denote God's kingship it appears he would have spoken of God as King. "But it is a fact that Jesus has pushed aside the designation of God as a king. Instead he sets the

30. Alan Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible, article "Kingdom of God", page 121.

31. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, page 130.

32. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 235.

33. Gerhard Gloege, The Day of His Coming, 1963 (from 2nd. Edit.). page 146.

34. Numbers in parenthesis refer to pages in Aalen's article.

concept of God as a Father in the center" (218). The point then is obvious. Since Jesus' concept of God differs from Judaism why should not his idea of the Kingdom of God?

(iii) In O. T. and Jewish usage (Isa. 6:5, Ps. 47:9, 93:1f, 97:1f., I Chron. 27:5, 29:3, Ass. Moses 101, 3) there is a connection between Kingdom and the throne of God. This is not the case in the Gospels (218).

(iv) In O. T. and Jewish usage the Kingdom is to be established or set up (Dan. 2:44, Orac. Sib. 3:76f., III Kings 9:5 (LXX), Targ. II Sam. 7:17, and elsewhere). This terminology is not used by Jesus, a deviation which Aalen finds significant (219).

(v) The fact that the reign of God will last forever is frequently used in O. T. and other background literature (219). It is not mentioned in the N. T. except in the Revelation of John (11:15) where it refers to Christ as well as God.

(vi) In the Gospels the Kingdom is thought of as something that one enters. "Nobody can dispute the fact that the Kingdom of God is in these texts conceived as a territory, an area" (220). Aalen is unable to find any corresponding usage in Jewish texts.

(vii) The appearance of the Kingdom in Judaism was equivalent to the theophany of God himself (221). Here again Aalen questions why no such usage should appear in the Gospels.

Aalen has made valid distinctions between Jewish usage of "Kingdom of God" and Jesus' appropriation of the term. "The significance of this difference is that Jesus wants to maintain the historic, non-visionary character of the kingdom while Judaism expects a theophanic appearance of it" (226).³⁵ One may not be prepared to accept Aalen's total interpretation of the meaning of the difference between Jewish

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35. For a similar conclusion see William Manson, Christ's View of the Kingdom of God, pages 100-1; Jesus the Messiah, page 50. Also E. F. Scott argues that it is impossible that Jesus totally acquiesced to the popular eschatology in: The Kingdom and the Messiah, page 92f.

usage and that of Jesus. However, it must be admitted that the phrase has been used in differing ways. Therefore, we must conclude that if the Kingdom of God is to be loosely defined as "kingly rule" according to its Jewish usage, room must be left for original extension of meaning in the ministry of Jesus. And such extension must logically include the sphere or territory within which this rule occurs.³⁶ This must not be taken to imply a geographical location, as it perhaps was in the Liberal interpretation.

Filson's third point of summation is that the coming of the Kingdom meant both judgement and grace. That the coming of the Kingdom meant judgement is quite obvious and is not disputed. However, the second phase cannot be so rapidly accepted. A totally futuristic Kingdom or Reign could not impart grace in the present. It could prompt repentance and preparation to avoid the coming wrath as with John the Baptist. There might even be a promise of future salvation, but there could be no present fulfilment. Thus if consistently followed the strict futuristic interpretation would deny that the Kingdom of God means a present grace or new life. This is though a difficult position to hold because of the redemptive nature of Jesus' ministry. For example, E. F. Scott, who gives a futuristic definition to the Kingdom of God finds the need for the following saying:

He (Jesus) regarded the Kingdom as already within the reach of men. He sought to bring them under its influence, and by His own work and personality to impart to them the new life. 37

He is not alone in this "proleptic" approach as R. H. Fuller adopts the same general procedure.³⁸ The substance of the Gospel records make it quite impossible to hold off the Kingdom to the future as it was conceived by Jewish apocalypticism.

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36. Vincent Taylor, The Life and Ministry of Jesus, page 67.

37. E. F. Scott, The Kingdom and the Messiah, page 116.

38. R. H. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus. In the Foundations of New Testament Christology, pages 104f., Fuller changes his position to "proleptic presence".

The fact that the 'grace' of the Kingdom was operative in the ministry of Jesus has been often stated by New Testament scholars. Already in this paper there has been special reference to E. Schweizer³⁹ and G. Bornkamm⁴⁰ who see grace revealed in such an event as the calling of Levi. Others, following differing approaches, have reached a similar conclusion. Some of the scholars who have noted the operation of grace in the ministry of Jesus will be listed below.⁴¹

There appears to be then an established consensus that the Kingdom of God was being realized in a gracious manner through the activity and proclamation of Jesus.

The fourth point of Filson's summation related the gracious activity of the Kingdom with the necessary ethical response. Filson relates the two in a positive way. He is able to do this because he sees some present expression of the kingdom in the ministry of Jesus. However, not all scholars are able to see any such positive connection. The ethical instruction of Jesus appears for example to be somewhat of an embarrassment to the thorough-going eschatology of Albert Schweitzer. He is forced to think of it in somewhat negative and very limited terms.⁴² It is a negative ethic because it is not for public consumption but

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39. E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship.

40. G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth.

41. Ernst Fuchs, Studies of the Historical Jesus, page 140, in discussing the Basileia says it creates an "'existentiell" state which transfers those who are called to God's side. The Basileia will benefit those who are called, as if they were already those birds in the branches of the mighty tree." See also page 143. James Mackinnon, The Historic Jesus, pages 308-314 agrees that both judgement and grace are operative in Jesus' concept of the Kingdom. Among others who hold the view are: R. N. Flew, Jesus and His Way, page 25; W. G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, pages 153-4; Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 44, following William Manson; G. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, pages 137-147; Floyd Filson, A New Testament History, page 115; Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 235.

42. Schweitzer, Quest, page 354.

for the predistined, the elect. Thus Jesus' instruction is to help the rich get richer and to deliberately overshoot the poor.⁴³ And it is a very limited ethic because it applies to only a certain group (the "definitely chosen"), and because it is intended only for the interval until the coming of the Kingdom.⁴⁴

Schweitzer's approach raises one immediate question. Why must one control the meaning and nature of the ethical teaching by the apocalyptic element? Is it not just as possible to define the apocalyptic by the ethical teaching? Such an approach is not infrequent. "Indeed the greatest proof that the new age had dawned, and that Jesus did not believe in an immediate end of human history lies in the nature of the ethical teaching..."⁴⁵ T. F. Glasson makes the same point by noting that the ethical teaching of Jesus is inexplicable if he expected an immediate and catastrophic end of man's history.⁴⁶ There is some distinction between these two approaches. Glasson does not even make reference to the nature of the ethic. The fact of the ethic for him speaks strongly against the apocalyptic. For Flew it is necessary to go one step further and mention the nature of the ethical instruction. In any case they would both put the burden of proof upon anyone who would propound an interim ethic on the basis of apocalypticism.

Thus we have questioned the possibility of an apocalyptic view by Jesus because of his ethical instruction. However, the main arguments against Schweitzer's position should still be given.

(i) It is impossible to push a one-sided apocalypticism into the ethical system of Jesus. This is mainly true because the apocalyptic held off God's action in the world until some future date. There operates in Jesus' teaching and ministry a faith that God is now active in

43. Schweitzer, Quest, page 354.

44. Ibid.

45. Flew, Jesus and His Way, page 22.

46. T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent, 1963 (First published, 1945) page 140.

human history.⁴⁷

(ii) Much of Jesus' teaching clearly lacks a relationship to an impending doom. "To import a reference to the Parousia into Jesus' words about prayer, or forgiveness, or humility, or truthfulness, or trust in God is to read into the Gospel record what is simply not there."⁴⁸

(iii) The teaching of Jesus largely belongs to a tradition other than that of the apocalyptist. It much more frequently is in the tradition of the prophet and the wisdom literature.⁴⁹

(iv) There is an element in the teaching which assumes a duration of time. "It has to do with such permanent moral problems as unsettled quarrels, ostentatious religious practices, and worry about food and clothing."⁵⁰ This element of a continuing history is also accepted by Wilder⁵¹ and Otto.⁵²

These are the general arguments which have denied the plausibility of an interim ethic. In some ways they lap over each other, but undoubtedly they reflect a present consensus against Schweitzer's position. However, Schweitzer's theory does have two very interesting consequences in New Testament study.

First, combined with the theology of Karl Barth, it rang a death knell for any ethic of Jesus which had no connection with eschatology. So the purely progressive humanistic interpretation of Jesus' moral instruction can no longer be justified.⁵³

Secondly, there was an attempt made to defeat the interim ethic on a basis not mentioned above. This was done by accepting realized eschatology. Once Dodd's position was taken one could say: "Consequently,

47. E. F. Scott, The Ethical Teaching of Jesus, page 44.

48. A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, 1963 (First published 1950). page 77.

49. A. N. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics in the New Testament, page 41; William Lillie, Studies in New Testament Ethics, 1961. page 143.

50. William Lillie, Studies, page 144.

51. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, page 41.

52. Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, pages 61-2.

53. A. M. Hunter, Work and Words, page 68; Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 46-57; Landström, pages 17-26.

it is a complete error to interpret our Lord's ethical teaching as an interimsethik. Rather it is the absolute ethic of the Kingdom of God."⁵⁴
The only difficulty with taking this position is assuming a thoroughgoing realized eschatology. And that difficulty appears to be insurmountable in modern research.⁵⁵

The problem to be recognized now is one of positive relationship between eschatology and ethics. It is seen that realized eschatology and wholly futuristic apocalyptic do not provide a satisfactory interpretation of ethics. And the non-eschatological ethic which they replaced cannot be found consistent with the teaching of Jesus. So can there be a positive relationship between eschatology and ethics?

The answer appears to be yes, but it must be insisted that one be really serious about giving each term the weight of its meaning. Since what Perrin calls "the Triumph of the Apocalyptic" ethics may have been slighted by eschatology. Here is an example:

...it is not the case that these commands were intended to express merely an 'interim ethic', that they were valid only for the time immediately preceding the end of the world. They cannot be completely fulfilled before the end, but only in the time following after, in the new world of the Kingdom of God. 56

In this approach the emphasis is clearly upon the end and the life in the new world. Then one is very close to seeing "ethics" as merely descriptive of life in the Kingdom. Or to put it another way: When God really begins to rule these are the commandments that will be adhered to. But these are not ethics, not really commandments, because the establishment of the new world by the cataclysmic end of the present world is all God's doing. Dibelius is trying to avoid the tag of interim ethic, but if Jesus holds absolutely to an imminent end of the world

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54. Lindsay Dewar, An Outline of New Testament Ethics, 1949. page 59.

55. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 58-78.

56. M. Dibelius, Jesus, 1963. page 107.

all his ethics are interim. In the full meaning of the word, ethics are not possible in the apocalyptic kingdom. Ethics implies values, standards, or rules by which humans strive to live. In the apocalyptic kingdom God's rule will be absolutely established by his own power. Man will be passive.

It would then be reasonable to say that when eschatology can be equated with apocalypticism, ethics cannot be thought of in its true terms. This is for two reasons. First, the ethic is really valid for a very limited time. Second, the emphasis is so much upon what God will establish that the ethic is more nearly descriptive than "ethical". Where the ethical teaching is subordinated to the apocalyptic there is no true positive relationship.

Perrin seems to avoid this difficulty. He recognizes the validity of Schweitzer's apocalyptic to the extent that he continually emphasizes two points. (a) The coming of the Kingdom is God's activity.⁵⁷ This is the weapon he consistently uses against the "liberals" like McCown and F. C. Grant. (b) Jesus did not expect any duration of time.⁵⁸ This he assumes to be unassailable and uses it against Wilder's conclusions in Eschatology and Ethics.⁵⁹ But, in what appears to be a divergence from Schweitzer he is willing to admit to a present operation of the Kingdom. Thus he is able to talk about an "eschatological Torah" (pages 76-78) or the Law of the Kingdom (page 157). For Perrin that Torah or Law already has validity in the ministry of Jesus as a response to the Kingdom in its 'present' form. This is more acceptable than Schweitzer's view, but it could differ more from Dibelius who also emphasized the present aspect of the Kingdom.⁶⁰ The point to be made is this. Where-

57. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 56-7.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., pages 156-7.

60. See T. W. Manson, Ethics and the Gospel, page 48 where he perhaps makes too much of the present aspect of the Kingdom according to Dibelius.

ever the apocalyptic is allowed to be dominant in Jesus' teaching then his ethic is basically interim in nature, certainly as far as human history is concerned. This is not entirely overcome by such terms as "Eschatological Torah", because that law is only valid after God's future kingly power has established the new Israel or the new covenant or has ended the "epoch of wickedness".⁶¹ It may be partly valid now, but at best it can endure for only a short period of time before God ends history in its usual sense and established a situation where such a law can be effectively followed. Apocalyptic then overpowers ethic, even when one admits some present activity of the Kingdom.⁶²

Finally then we may come to state positive relationships between eschatology and ethics. First, it may be said that the present merciful activity of the Kingdom makes Jesus' ethic one of response. Jeremias, as well as anyone, shows the merciful redeeming nature of the Kingdom in the activity of Jesus.⁶³ Bornkamm summarizes the ethic of response thusly: "This sovereignty (i.e. God's) is seen in his goodness..."⁶⁴ This implies that the ethic springs from Jesus' conception of the nature of God,⁶⁵ which is eschatological.⁶⁶ For the second item it is necessary again to follow the lead of Bornkamm as he notes that in Judaism the Law had really separated man from God. "God is concealed behind the law and man behind his achievements and works."⁶⁷ In contrast to this the eschatological nature of Jesus' ministry and teaching has the following effect:

61. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 77-8.

62. The question of whether or not Jesus' ethics are apocalyptic will be discussed below.

63. Jeremias, Parables, pages 124-146.

64. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, page 143.

65. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, pages 119-120.

66. G. S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, page 51.

67. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, page 104.

Here is the secret of the conciseness and vividness, the cutting edge and healing power of his words. Nowhere is to be seen in them the naturalising and isolating layer of conventionalism so frequently found...Never is there the correct, the all too correct preaching about God. God is always present and so is man, in unmistakable reality. 68

The teachings of Jesus will be examined under several headings to see if they support the positive relationships stated above or the apocalyptic. The areas of his teaching to be examined are: (a) the "nature" of God, (b) the nature of the Law, (c) forgiveness and love, and (d) apocalyptic.

(a) The nature of God. E. F. Scott wrote that it would be "easy" to show that Jesus' ethic is always united with his "faith in God".⁶⁹ A. N. Wilder puts the matter as strongly as possible. "The ground and ~~source of Jesus' life and teaching~~, the objective sanction of his moral imperatives, and that which in the life of his hearers rendered them practicable, all these are reducible finally to the vision of God that Jesus mediated..."⁷⁰ William Manson, without stating it so directly, adheres to the same principle. For example, man must will and seek the righteousness of God because of his very righteousness; Jesus' ethic of love is based on God's redeeming love.⁷¹

The principle background for Jesus' thought about God is the Old Testament.⁷² This is well documented by J. A. Baird in a survey of the parables and sayings of Jesus.⁷³ He bases his conclusion on the fact that Jesus uses most of the Old Testament terms for describing God (e.g. wisdom, power, creator). Jesus also uses such Old Testament concepts of God such as power, wrath, justice, and love. The apocalyptic cannot be

68. Hornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, page 105.

69. E. F. Scott, The Ethical Teaching of Jesus, page 39.

70. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, pages 128-9.

71. William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pages 86-7.

72. L. Dewar, An Outline of New Testament Ethics, pages 13-16.

73. J. A. Baird, The Justice of God in the Teaching of Jesus, pages 51-73.

said to be the basis for Jesus' idea of God. Even when he uses the circumlocutions of the apocalyptists or speaks of such subjects as angels, he does not do so with the same interest as the apocalyptist.⁷⁴ By examining some of Jesus' thoughts concerning God we may see how the nature of God is a determining factor in his ethics.

The Fatherhood of God is a prominently recognized aspect of Jesus' teaching. A basic part of this Fatherhood is love.⁷⁵ And love is a requirement of true sonship. In fact Jesus' commandment to love even one's enemy is based on the Father's love (see Matt. 5:43-48).⁷⁶ Connected with Jesus' idea of the Father is God's desire to forgive. The commandments to forgive spring from this: see Matt. 18:23-35, Matt. 6:14, Mk. 11:25.⁷⁷

It is difficult to separate God as Father and God as King in Jesus' teaching (Matt. 11:25, Lk. 12:32).⁷⁸ Actually the two are combined in the Lord's prayer where it is suggested that the Father's name be praised and that his Kingdom should come and his will done. T. W. Manson implies by a grouping of verses that the hallowing of God's name is done by one's good works (see Matt. 23:9).⁷⁹ Thus Jesus shows man's need to respond to the Sovereign, whose will man is called to obey.⁸⁰

The eschatological element is present because God is present. "The nearness of God is the secret of Jesus' language about God."⁸¹ A. N. Wilder agrees with this conclusion by insisting that the radical nature of Jesus' ethics springs from a "new relation to God in the time of salvation."⁸² The nature of a near or present God is the basis of Jesus' ethical demands.⁸³ There can be, however, no doubt that the

74. Bultmann, Jesus, page 150.

75. Baird, The Justice of God, pages 51-2; Manson, Teaching of Jesus, page 115.

76. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, page 120.

77. Baird, Justice of God, page 53; Manson, Teaching, pages 114-5.

78. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, page 47.

79. Manson, Teaching, page 114.

80. Bultmann, Jesus, pages 135-7.

81. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, page 128.

82. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, page 161.

83. Hans Windisch, The Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, page 201.

apocalyptic framework gave urgency to his preaching and teaching. But, it is also true that his ethic is not overshadowed by the apocalyptic. Of course the final effect of the apocalyptic upon Jesus' ethic cannot be decided until the apocalyptic teaching is surveyed. Two interesting points should, however, be mentioned.⁸⁴ E. F. Scott recognizes that Jesus accepted the apocalyptic framework but disdained to participate in its speculative assessment of the coming age; instead Jesus used the apocalyptic hope as a vantage point from which to gain an eternal perspective. Wilder, as cited above, argues that the idea of the eschatological culmination "so partook of the nature of myth or poetry that it did not other than formally determine the ethic."

(b) The nature of the Law. A thorough-going apocalyptic would render the question of the Law unnecessary. The Law of Moses would have been more or less insignificant for Jesus had he functioned under the apocalypticism some modern scholars have ascribed to him. The question of abiding laws or principles are not basically important to a world which is about to end. But the Law and his relationship to it were vital elements to Jesus in his ministry. This is reflected by the fact that scholars who deal at any length with Jesus, as represented in the Gospels, feel obliged to consider the nature of the Law in the thought of Jesus. That this has been the case throughout the history of Christianity is recorded by Harvey K. McArthur who investigated the discussion as it developed from Augustine to modern time.⁸⁵

McArthur makes a very useful summary of his conclusions concerning the relationship between the ethic of Jesus and the Mosaic tradition. He does so with the following propositions.

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84. Scott, Ethical Teaching, pages 47-50; Wilder, Eschatology, page 161.

85. Harvey K. McArthur, Understanding the Sermon on the Mount, pages 26-44.

(i) "The ethic of Jesus involved the abrogation of some aspects of the Mosaic tradition."⁸⁶ McArthur uses as a basis for this statement the "Antitheses" in the Sermon on the Mount: divorce (5:31f.), swearing (5:33-37), and retaliation (5:38-42). In addition to this there is the teaching regarding clean and unclean food (Matt. 15:10-20, Mark 7:14-23). One does not need to go far to gain support for this view.⁸⁷

(ii) "However, the ethic of Jesus represented a legitimate development out of that Mosaic tradition."⁸⁸ Of course this is rather obvious since Jesus was a Jew raised in the Jewish tradition and was referred to as a Rabbi. This point was not wasted on the scholars of the liberal tradition, and even such a direct opposite as Bultmann pays special attention to the fact.⁸⁹ The importance of Jesus as a teacher of ethics or moral behaviour or the will of God seems to have eluded many who have pursued the apocalyptic tradition. They fail to see Jesus as influenced and shaped in any degree by the most powerful influence of his time in the Jewish religion--the Law.

(iii) "At many, perhaps most, points the individual advances made by Jesus were being paralleled by other Jewish leaders."⁹⁰ McArthur compares ideas in Jesus' teaching with other thought of his time in order to substantiate his observation. The point is not new and is well-taken; it need not be summarized here.⁹¹

(iv) "However, the total impact of Jesus' ethic differed significantly from that of his contemporaries' ethics."⁹² Under this heading McArthur is able to deal with the real difference between Jesus and the Mosaic tradition. It is interesting to note the variety of opinions held by the interpreters' of Jesus' meaning.

86. McArthur, Understanding the Sermon on the Mount, page 44.

87. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 76; Bornkamm, Jesus, pages 96-100; Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, pages 156f.

88. McArthur, Sermon on the Mount, page 44.

89. Bultmann, Jesus, pages 57-64.

90. McArthur, Sermon on the Mount, page 44.

91. McArthur himself calls attention to Kittel's statement of such a position. See also B.H. Branscomb, Jesus and the Law of Moses, pages 262f.

92. McArthur, Sermon on the Mount, page 44.

(1) The author of the Gospel according to Matthew, who although he is opposing the antinomian viewpoint, reveals in his writing the belief that Jesus emphasized the right interpretation of the Law.⁹³ To gain this correct interpretation it is necessary to judge the weightier matters and even use Scripture against Scripture. This is distinct from the level of uniformity with which the Law was viewed by the rabbis of Jesus' time.⁹⁴

(2) Jesus' ethic was radical and unconditional; it dealt with the "impossible."⁹⁵ This is to be contrasted with the ethic of the rabbis which is said to be of a more practical nature.

(3) The ethic of Jesus was not for an established society but for those individuals responding to his call and making up a new community.⁹⁶ Manson emphasizes a similar point by arguing that Jesus' ethic is the "spontaneous activity of a transformed character."⁹⁷ There is merit in pointing out that Jesus' ethic was intended for those responding to his ministry and preaching, and in that sense it was not a rule for all the society. But this limiting of the ethics is to be counter-balanced, as McArthur fails to do, by emphasizing that Jesus' ministry was directed to the whole society.

(4) Jesus assumed a personal authority which actually put him in a position to judge the Law.⁹⁸ Jesus did not rely upon the citing of previous examples in the Law to support his conclusions. He rather spoke with a unique sense of authority.

To summarize then we find that Jesus, like his contemporaries, was interested in the standards of human conduct and the Law by which it was guided. This is most obvious because he argued over points of the Law;

93. G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. J. Held, Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, pages 94-5.

94. Bultmann, Jesus, pages 74-6; McArthur, Sermon on the Mount, pages 53-4; In a general way accepted by Branscomb, Jesus and the Law; page 262; S. H. Hooke, Christ and the Kingdom of God, page 38; Dewar, An Outline of New Testament Ethics, page 16.

95. McArthur, Sermon, page 54; Bultmann, Jesus, page 84; Wilder, Eschatology, page 158; W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 91.

96. McArthur, Sermon, page 54; Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 76.

97. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, page 300.

98. McArthur, Sermon, pages 55-6; Bornkamm, Jesus, page 99; Wilder, Eschatology, pages 151-60.

he stood in the developing Mosaic tradition; and most importantly his teaching was almost always revealed in the thought of contemporary teachers. Yet he differs decisively from others of that day. He abrogated parts of the Law, and he made it radical in calling for absolute obedience. These things he was apparently able to do because of his own position of authority in relation to the activity of God in his ministry. This means that his ethic was eschatological. But, it does not imply a discontinuing of time or the early establishment of a complete Kingdom. If it did then surely Jesus would have abrogated all the Mosaic Law and the ceremonial customs in favour of the procedures of the imminent Kingdom. Also it is highly unlikely that so much of his teaching would have been paralleled by the practical rabbinical precepts.

(c) Forgiveness and Love. These two concepts are closely allied in the teaching of Jesus. They are, in addition, much more than concepts or ideas; forgiveness and love are realities manifested in the ministry of Jesus. A prime example of this is Mark 2:1-12 (the Healing of the Paralytic). Bultmann argues that the discussion about forgiveness is interpolated into a miracle story. The Palestinian church added the story in an attempt to justify its practice of forgiving sins. Here again it is seen how Bultmann makes the Church the creative force and disallows the new in the ministry of Jesus. However, the real basis of his argument is that: "There is no other reference in the tradition (apart from Lk. 7:47) to Jesus pronouncing forgiveness of sins."⁹⁹ This interpretation is frequently challenged. Windisch argues that forgiveness of sins was not a teaching unique with Jesus, what was unique was that "...he related it to his own authority, and to faith in his person."¹⁰⁰ This same approach is taken by Duncan¹⁰¹ and by Wm. Manson who questions Bultmann's conclusions by citing other references to forgiveness:

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99. Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, page 15.
 100. H. Windisch, The Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, page 181.
 101. G. S. Duncan, Jesus Son of Man, pages 161f.

Luke 7:47, Mark 2:17, Luke 19:9, Mark 3:28.¹⁰² So one may reason that the structure of Jesus' ethical instruction about forgiveness is based upon the redeeming activity of God, it is what God does. Hence, the instruction that one must continue forgiving his brother (Matt. 18:21-22), no matter how often he has sinned, is connected to God's mercy. The saying is followed by a parable of the master who remitted the incalculable debt for his servant (Matt. 18:23-25) but subsequently punished the man for his own failure to remit a debt. Gloege puts the matter this way:

The principle of justice is superseded in the teaching of Jesus, as the parable of the owner of the vineyard demonstrates (Matt. 20:1-15). God has complete freedom to do what he likes with what belongs to him. But his freedom is everlasting, generous goodness.

The man who loves lives on forgiveness.

His love depends upon his readiness to forgive. 103

Luke 6:32-36 reveals that as forgiveness is connected with God's own mercy so is the commandment of love. One will love even his enemies "because he (i.e. God) is kind to the ungrateful and wicked" (NEB). "Jesus' commandment of love and that of the whole New Testament, in its promise as well as its demand, never reduces man to a spectre, but calls him, as he really is, in the light of God's love...into new being and into new activity."¹⁰⁴

Here again the eschatological activity of God in the ministry of Jesus has a positive effect upon his ethical teaching. The basis for the summons to forgive and to love is the nature of God who does love. And the commandments do not presume an ideal situation such as the final consummation would bring. There will be unending chances to forgive and enemies for whom to pray. Neither a totally realized Kingdom nor an impending Kingdom provide fundamental foundation for these ethics. What does provide the basis is the activity of God in Jesus' ministry revealing his gracious mercy and love.

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102. William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 62.

103. G. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, page 194.

104. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, page 117.

(d) The Apocalyptic Teaching. Norman Perrin accepts the prime contention of Weiss and Schweitzer that for Jesus the Kingdom of God was an apocalyptic concept.¹⁰⁵ As has already been noted there are many scholars who are prepared to agree that the Kingdom of God was the basic factor in the preaching of Jesus. So then an apocalyptic concept was the basic idea in the thinking of Jesus. This^{is} not a totally acceptable conclusion, and there are some factors which suggest that apocalyptic may have gained a place in New Testament scholarship which is simply unwarranted by the evidence of the tradition.

(i) The Kingdom of God as it appears in the Gospel of Mark is neither the most basic element in the ministry of Jesus nor is it decidedly apocalyptic. The Gospel of Mark is particularly appropriate for an investigation of the "Kingdom" or eschatology or apocalyptic. First of all it appears in the New Testament, not only as an independent document, but as a main and interpreted source in the other synoptics. Secondly, it is a general rule that Matthew tends to heighten the eschatological element in the use of his sources. And less definitely, Luke appears to lessen it by spiritualizing the concept of the Kingdom.¹⁰⁶ Montefiore is so confident that he can say: "In Mark we can still discern the conception of the Kingdom as it was held and taught by Jesus himself."¹⁰⁷

On a statistical count the words "Kingdom of God", related to Jesus, appear in only nine situations in the Gospel of Mark. V. Taylor cites fourteen uses of the term, but this leaves an undue emphasis. In the space of 19:23-26 the term is used three times and twice in 10:15-16. It is used in 15:43 but has no connection with Jesus. So one is left with only nine situations in which the term is used.

Mark 1:14-15 (Summary Statement about Jesus' Preaching). Matthew 4: 12-17 roughly parallels this passage, however, Matthew expands the thought with a quote from Isaiah. He retains the basic "future" word, ἔρχεται, in

105. Perrin, Kingdom of God, page 57.

106. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, II, pages 478-9; McArthur, Sermon on the Mount, page 92, mentions the same view held by Windisch and Dibelius.

107. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, page 478.

its relationship to the Kingdom. But he drops πεπλήρωται, the basic "present" word, which in relation to ὁ καιρὸς must signify that the time has come.¹⁰⁸ So here the meaning of the sentence is that the time appointed by God for the fulfilment of his promises, the time to which the O. T. was pointing, the eschatological time, has come."¹⁰⁹ Matthew heightens the futuristic element. Luke, in contrast to Matthew, and in a method quite different from C. H. Dodd's approach, emphasizes the present aspect. He avoids Dodd's difficulty with ἤγγικεν¹¹⁰ by ignoring it. And he very quickly picks up πεπλήρωται, setting it in the context of Jesus' words to the synagogue at Nazareth.

The verse has been a crucial one in the discussion about the present and future aspects of the Kingdom in the teaching of Jesus. The weight the saying is made to bear should be tempered by Bultmann's warning: "This is a quite secondary formulation made under the influence of a specifically Christian terminology..."¹¹¹ The discussion of the verse seems to center around Dodd's present interpretation of the word ἤγγικεν. This he bases mainly on the conclusion that in the LXX the word is used to translate the Hebrew verb naqa' and the Aramaic verb naqa. These verbs mean to reach or to arrive.¹¹² Kümmel, as cited above, and R. H. Fuller argue against the validity of this interpretation by an examination of the use of the word throughout the New Testament.¹¹³ The thoroughness of their arguments seems to support a conclusion opposite to that which Dodd envisioned. However, it may not support their own conclusion that ἤγγικεν thus reveals the imminence of the Kingdom.

The first reservation^{is} found in Fuller's own comment that of the thirty-five times ἐγγιζω appears in conjunction with ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ it has a spatial reference.¹¹⁴ One must admit then that it is primarily a verb dealing with^a spatial and not chronological term: "In both the other occurrences of the verb in Mk. (xi.1, xiv.42) it is strictly

108. Cranfield, Mark, page 63.

109. Ibid.

110. See especially Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, pages 19-25.

111. Bultmann, History, page 118. 112. Dodd, Parables, page 36.

113. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pages 20-35.

114. Ibid., page 21.

spatial; and it is better here too to understand 'has come near' in a spatial rather than a temporal sense."¹¹⁵

The third reservation deals with ἡ ἐγγύς which is directly related to the concept of time, and it emphasizes that the time has come. It is to be noted that Matthew must avoid this verb in order to heighten the futuristic aspect of the Kingdom. In fact one must follow Matthew rather than Mark to get any sort of apocalyptic reference to the Kingdom from this verse. This not to remove all future reference as Luke does, but it suggests that if the future reference is strong in Mark's concept of the Kingdom it must prove itself on other ground.

Mark 4:10-23, 26-29, 30-2 (Parables of the Kingdom). Before examining these verses in detail, two observations must be made about them. First, they form the bulk of the teaching about the Kingdom in Mark, in fact one might say it is the only place where the Kingdom is the prime object of Jesus' words. This is in direct opposition to the passion predictions which occur more frequently and in differing settings. Secondly, if Mark thus limits the teaching on the Kingdom, isolating it primarily to one situation, one should look especially close for strong futuristic and apocalyptic imagery. They cannot be found.

The first use of Kingdom of God in this section is found in 4:11. Along with 4:10 it is generally regarded as a Markan construction¹¹⁶ or as an apologetic creation of the early Church.¹¹⁷ The section is far too vague and out of context to reveal much about the Kingdom of God, and anyway the basic meaning has to do with the purpose of the parables, not with the Kingdom.

Two parables (4:26-29, 30-32) follow, and they are directly related to the Kingdom of God. The first of these parables is concerned with a sower of seed, the secret growth of the seed, and a harvest. The lengths to which

115. Cranfield, Mark, page 68.

116. Taylor, Mark, page 254.

117. Following the same approach, Dodd, Parables, page 107; Jeremias, Parables, pages 117/13; Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 125.

the apocalyptic has influenced the concept of the Kingdom is revealed by Kummel's interpretation of the parable. First of all he must insist that the sowing is unimportant, not emphasized.¹¹⁸ Surely, if one is to take the apocalyptic line that man is passive in regard to the Kingdom of God, he must say what Kummel says here. But the parable cannot be so construed. To assume that in the cycle of growth the end is more important than the beginning is not sound. Whatever else you may say about the parable it clearly shows that without a man to plant the seed there can be no harvest!¹¹⁹ Neither Kummel nor anyone else can make man entirely passive in this parable. It cannot be done, as G. Harder attempts, by saying that the sower is God! That would portray God to be as ignorant of nature as any farmer. Jeremias tries another approach by beginning with another title for the parable. He calls it "The Parable of the Patient Husbandman."¹²⁰ He compares God with the husbandman. The husbandman plants his seed, waits passively, and when the hour comes brings in the harvest. So, Jeremias says, does God. When the appropriate hour comes, and it comes without man's help, God brings in the Kingdom. This would be quite acceptable if the parable was about God. Unfortunately for Jeremias' position the parable is about the Kingdom of God. Here again the proof lies in the fact that the husbandman is decidedly ignorant about the process of growth. Are we to assume Jesus meant then that God was confident the Kingdom would come although He was not sure why?

Secondly, Kummel must rid the growth process of any significance which he does by saying that the husbandman has no part in the growth. This approach could be more easily taken if it were not for the fact that over one-half of the parable describes in close detail the development of the corn from sprout to fulness of growth.

Thirdly, if Kummel is to develop the apocalyptic concept, the harvest must be the eschatological judgement referred to in Joel 3:13.¹²¹ But there

118. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 128.

119. Taylor, Mark, page 266. It is only after man plants the seed that he waits. So Martin, Parables of the Gospels, page 81. H.B. Swete, The Parables of the Kingdom, page 17, also notes the activity of man at the beginning and end of the process. Opposite view, Smith Parables, pages 129f.

120. Jeremias, Parables, pages 191f.

121. Kummel, Promise, page 128.

are several factors which deny the validity of such a conclusion. The most obvious argument is that man; i.e. the sower, brings in the harvest; God does not. Of all the places in apocalyptic thought, man can certainly be no more passive than at the judgement. Yet he is portrayed in this parable, sickle in hand, busily harvesting the crop he has planted. Then too, C.H. Dodd rightly points to a more immediate reference, namely Matthew 9:37-38-Luke 10:2, where the disciples are sent out to harvest what was already ripe.¹²² To call this parable apocalyptic or even futuristic eschatology is only possible by denying its unity and obliterating the significance of all its constituent parts except the harvest. And even if the harvest is the significant point, it is rather ironical that the ignorant husbandman is the reaper, hardly the apocalyptic picture of the Judge. Deciding on the basis of this parable alone, the Kingdom involves the initiating activity of man, the exclusive power of God to yield growth, and the response of man to benefit from the harvest.

The second parable (4:30-32) is that of the Mustard Seed. Without any definite context it is very difficult to say what this parable means. It gives little warrant for an exclusively futuristic eschatological interpretation.¹²³ Taylor argues that growth is part of the emphasis of the parable,¹²⁴ a point which Jeremias and Cranfield deny.¹²⁵ They reject it, as Jeremias states the case, because of "the characteristic Semitic way of dwelling on the beginning and end of a story without reference to what happens between..."¹²⁶ This conclusion is difficult to accept because in fact the growing of the plant and the formation of the branches are mentioned in detail. And when Jeremias attempts to give meaning to the parable he says:

How differently the beginnings of the Messianic Age announced by Jesus appeared than was commonly expected! Could this wretched band, comprising so many disreputable characters, be the wedding guests of God's redeemed community? 'Yes', says Jesus, 'it is'. With the same compelling certainty that causes a tall shrub to grow out of a minute grain of

122. Dodd, Parables, page 134; Hugh Martin, The Parables of the Gospels, page 86, admits this may be the correct interpretation.

123. Taylor, Mark, page 269.

124. Ibid. (Opposite view, Smith, Parables, page 120.

125. Jeremias, Parables, page 90; Cranfield, Mark, page 170.

126. Jeremias, Parables, page 90, note 75.

mustard seed...will God's miraculous power
cause my hand to swell into the mighty host
of the people of God in the Messianic Age...127

The idea of development, no matter how minimized, cannot be removed. After all the tree is nothing more than the seed fully developed. It is not apart from the seed. The future reference can only be that what begins small can later afford protection. But the question of when it occurs is left open. One is certainly free to say: "' A fut^ure kingdom cannot grow and in no possible sense can it be compared with a growing thing.'"129

Mark 9:1(Prediction of the Coming Kingdom). Bultmann deals with this verse in a most concise way. He points out that καὶ ἔλεγε¹²⁹ is a formula by which this isolated saying is given a context. "It is a community formula of consolation in view of the delay of the Parousia; at any rate some will still live to see it."¹³⁰ That such a prediction would hardly have been created because of the difficulties caused by its lack of fulfillment is Kümmel's position.¹³¹ That does not answer Bultmann's point, since he is arguing that the saying was created precisely because the Parousia expectation had not been realized.

Even if one accepts the verse as part of the oldest tradition, perhaps even as a prediction of Jesus, its lack of context makes it impossible to interpret with certainty. Cranfield cites seven possible interpretations given to the verse and then adds his own.¹³² He sees it as a reference to the Transfiguration in which Resurrection and Parousia are proleptically present.¹³³ There is some validity in this since Mark does set the verse immediately before the account of the Transfiguration.¹³⁴ However, the future reference is very difficult to remove.¹³⁵ There is an implication that the Kingdom will come in power in the future and before all those being addressed had died. But the time element is vague; it might be fifty years before all who heard him died. This does not even seem to be a form of

127. Jeremias, Parables, page 149. 128. Taylor, Mark, page 269.

129. Bultmann, History, page 121; also Taylor, Mark, page 218, discusses καὶ ἔλεγε as a connecting link in Mark.

130. Bultmann, History, page 121. 131. Kümmel, Promise, page 27.

132. Cranfield, Mark, pages 285-8. 133. Ibid., page 288.

134. Taylor, Mark, page 385.

135. Despite Mark's context the verse does seem to be a Parousia saying.

imminent eschatology and is given no implication for urgency of preparation. In its relationship to the preceding verses concerning the future judgemental appearance of the Son of Man, neither the coming Kingdom nor the coming Son of Man is the most important idea. The future and the apocalyptic coming is wholly subservient to an already present salvation: "Whoever cares for his own safety is lost, but if a man will let himself be lost for my sake and for the Gospel, that man is safe" (NEB 8:35). Man is not passively waiting for the Kingdom nor the coming Son of Man; he is already participating in the present reality of salvation (σώζω) as opposed to already being lost or destroyed (ἀπόλλυμι).

Mark 9:42-48 (Radical Sayings about Entrance into the Kingdom).

These are isolated sayings grouped together by Mark according to a pattern which would make them easy to remember.¹³⁶ Matthew takes over these verses in the eighteenth chapter, but he applies them to the situation of the church as an ethical sanction.¹³⁷ The original meaning in Mark appears to be that nothing is too high a price to pay for entrance into the Kingdom of God or into "life".¹³⁸ The question is then raised about the future or apocalyptic nature of the Kingdom or life. It is obvious that these verses do not speak simply of the future but of a present demand and a subsequent entrance into life. Here Jesus' thought must surely be distinct from apocalyptic.¹³⁹ Any future judgement or reward is dependent upon man's present response to the demands of the Kingdom.

Mark 10:13-16 (Children and the Kingdom of God). The crux of the incident is verse 15, which may be added to this context; certainly Matthew gives it a different setting (18:3).¹⁴⁰ Bultmann, speaking of this verse and others of similar formulation, says: "All these sayings...contain something characteristic, new, reaching out beyond popular wisdom and piety and yet are in no sense scribal or rabbinic nor yet Jewish apocalyptic. So here if anywhere we can find what is characteristic of the preaching of Jesus."¹⁴¹

136. Cranfield, Mark, pages 312f.; Taylor, Mark, pages 410f.

137. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, pages 102-3.

138. T. W. Manson, Teaching, page 166.

139. K mmel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 153.

140. Cranfield, Mark, page 324.

141. Bultmann, History, page 105.

If this is acceptable the meaning still must be determined. Taylor would see it as an example of "transmuted" eschatology in which the Kingdom was presented as a gift which one might accept if he has the receptiveness of a child.¹⁴² This interpretation cannot be aligned with the futuristic conception of the Kingdom. So Fuller argues that just as future entry is denied to some it is given to others who make a certain response. But the response is not to the Kingdom but to the promise of the Kingdom.¹⁴³ However, Fuller does not mention the fact that the object of δέξεται is not a promise of the Kingdom but a direct object τὴν βασιλείαν. Kümmel does notice this difficulty and rejects it on two grounds. First, following Lehmeyer, he regards it as a "turn of speech" without parallel in the gospels.¹⁴⁴ Secondly, since it is "perfectly clear" that elsewhere entrance into the Kingdom is purely an eschatological matter, it must be so interpreted here.¹⁴⁵ But, in making his objection Kümmel fails to draw sufficiently on what Bultmann sees as something "new, reaching out beyond popular wisdom and piety." Jeremias recognizes that a new implication in this verse is the ability to become as a child for only a child can address his father as Abba.¹⁴⁶ Perrin takes up this point by adding:

We should note that Mark 10:15par. most probably has a future reference, whereas the abba of the Lord's Prayer certainly has a present reference... But the point implicit in both is the same: the experience of the Kingdom of God is the experience of a new relationship with God. This is to be enjoyed now (abba) and it will in some way be consummated in the future (Mark 10:15par.). 147

Mark 12:28-34 (The Great Commandment). Bultmann would give this episode little chance of historicity unless it reveals something of the spiritual attitude of Jesus.¹⁴⁸ This pessimism can be opposed on the basis that the friendliness of the scribe indicates historical reliability.¹⁴⁹ And it is the reply to the scribe (v.34) that is important in this discussion.

142. Taylor, Mark, page 422.

143. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, page 30.

144. Kümmel, Promise, page 126. 145. Ibid.

146. Jeremias, Parables, page 134.

147. Perrin, Kingdom of God, page 192.

148. Bultmann, History, page 55.

149. Cranfield, Mark, pages 376-7.

Taylor notes that some scholars would give the verse an eschatological interpretation.¹⁵⁰ This is a difficult argument to take because of the spatial imagery.¹⁵¹ And the eschatological interpretation must further put the man in the position of waiting or being prepared for the Kingdom when it comes.¹⁵² But there is no future reference, not even any reference to the coming Kingdom and certainly none to waiting. The man has come near the Kingdom, not the Kingdom near the man.¹⁵³ The implication of domain or realm is present in the verse. T.W. Manson takes it as a bit of evidence that in the latter part of Jesus' ministry he began to speak of the Kingdom of God as something into which a man can enter.¹⁵⁴ The Kingdom as imminent or apocalyptic is not the deciding factor in the verse. The attitude of the scribe, in his realization of the basis of the Law, is the focal point for this puts him into close proximity with the Kingdom.

Mark 14:25 (Vow of Abstinence) The words of Jesus are a vow of abstinence,¹⁵⁵ contained in Semitic ideas and vocabulary.¹⁵⁶ If because of its Semitic nature the verse is taken to be authentic, what does it reveal about the Kingdom? To be perfectly frank it gives practically no information about the Kingdom of God. It does not, as Kümmel supposes,¹⁵⁷ speak of the Kingdom as imminent. The vow of abstinence taken has no time limit set to it. It may look forward to the perfect consummation in the Kingdom of that which had already begun in the table-fellowship. It may indicate that Kingdom for Jesus or Mark was a spatial concept based on the fact that it was a "place" or "realm" in which one could drink wine. But all that can be said with certainty, is that the Kingdom is implied to be future.

A summary of Mark's usage then reveals that the Kingdom is used on three occasions as a "future" concept. In two of these the time element is vague and only in 1:14-15 does it have any implications for the way in which men should conduct their affairs. It is generally a concept in which the present activity overshadows the future implications. And in several places

150. Taylor, Mark, page 489. 151 Dodd, Parables, page 36.

152. Kümmel, Promise, page 125.

153. Taylor, Mark, page 490, following Schniewind and Lohmeyer.

154. T.W. Manson, Teaching, page 120. See Perrin, Kingdom of God pages 95-6 for a critical view of Manson's approach.

155. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, page 167.

156. Taylor, Mark, page 547; Cranfield, Mark, page 428.

157. Kümmel, Promise, pages 30-32.

it is found only as a by-product of the situation, not the primary purpose for the recording of the incident. One is left with the conclusion that in Mark the Kingdom of God is not a dominantly futuristic concept and is scarcely apocalyptic. What is significant is that the present life of man, in view of the time, is so dominant an idea. The ethical instruction of Jesus, in this instance, can hardly be said to spring from an apocalyptic or purely futuristic Kingdom.

(ii) The Sermon on the Mount as discussed by Harvey K. McArthur reveals an interesting conclusion. McArthur deals with the influence of eschatology upon the demands and promises of the Sermon in a chapter called "The Sermon and the Eschaton".¹⁵⁸ He approaches the subject from the point of view that Schweitzer has the better of the argument against Dodd. He concludes that the sermon shows that Jesus expected an imminent eschaton; the urgency of his demand for repentance was related to his eschatological expectation; and "specific precepts" in the sermon are conditioned by eschatological sanctions. These conclusions are mainly based upon what McArthur regards to be explicit eschatology in the Sermon. Although it is not the purpose here to criticize these particular conclusions something should be said about them. He regards 40% of the Sermon as "explicit eschatology". Some of this 40% is questionable. The Lord's Prayer cannot be called entirely eschatological in the apocalyptic sense. The notation of Jeremias and Perrin about Abba shows that the very opening word expresses some present realization of the Kingdom. And as Filson accurately points out, the hallowing of God's name and the doing of God's will manifest a present existence of something yet to be completed.¹⁵⁹ Other points could be argued, but it is sufficient to mention here that McArthur also finds a 40% that has no eschatology. And here are the ethical injunctions to be found in that 40%: disciples are to be as salt and light, no divorce, no swearing, no retaliation, love of enemies, the sound eye, two masters, do not be anxious, judge not one's brother, profaning the holy, and the Golden Rule. This is quite an array of ethical instruction which has no eschatology. It is cer-

158. H. K. McArthur, Understanding the Sermon on the Mount, pages 80-104.

159. F. V. Filson, Matthew, page 53.

tainly a greater variety and a more significant bit of instruction than that found in the explicit eschatology. However, what of the remaining 20%? McArthur, following Dibelius, tends to regard it as eschatological. He lists the amazing reasoning^{of} Dibelius who argues: (a) Since the whole message of Jesus has an eschatological background this must also. But the point of McArthur's investigation is to determine if one may make such a statement. And McArthur, although he does not mention it, proves, that in the Sermon on the Mount, Dibelius is at least 40% incorrect in his assumption. (b) Since the author gives the sermon an eschatological orientation we would assume the material to have an eschatological leaning. But such an argument only enforces the contention that Matthew, not Jesus, uses his material in such a way as to heighten the eschatological element. On this basis it seems much safer to say that the questionable 20% must have been definitely non-eschatological in its original setting if Matthew cannot editorially make it clearly eschatological. So McArthur's conclusion that the eschaton is the deciding factor is a questionable one. But it is not this conclusion which is of primary interest. What is of interest concerns the imminence of the eschaton:

There is no reference in the entire Sermon, nor in any ethical injunction outside the Sermon, to the imminence of the Eschaton. Not that Jesus doubted its imminence. But there was no conscious shaping of his ethical demands as Interim Ethic. Particularly striking is the fact that Matt. 6:19-34 has no reference to brevity of time before the Eschaton. Surely here if anywhere there would have been some hint had Jesus consciously proclaimed an Interim Ethic. 160

This is a retreat from Schweitzer, and even more it marks a retreat from McArthur's own assumption about the prominence of the eschaton in setting the demand and promises of Jesus' ministry.

So far as his conscious thought was concerned, the imminence of the Eschaton accentuated the urgency of the crisis but did not change the eternal divine demand upon man. The basic rejection of divorce in Matt. 5:32 and 19:9 was not defended on the grounds that the approaching Eschaton changed the situation from Moses' day, but rather on the grounds that...from the beginning it was not so. 161

160. McArthur, Sermon, page 96.

161. Ibid., page 97.

This difficulty of applying the eschaton to the ethical instruction of Jesus has been reflected above, as well as in McArthur's work. It leads to a third and concluding statement about the apocalyptic teaching.

(iii) As early as William Manson's, Jesus the Messiah, the position of apocalypticism in the teaching of Jesus was under attack on the basis that there was a "deeper ground and source for the message of Jesus than any absorption in the thought of the world's end."¹⁶² He supports his conclusion by the argument that Jesus' teaching lacks the usual apocalyptic terminology.¹⁶³ But, he really strikes the telling blow by saying: "Jesus in his characteristic words about the Kingdom of God reasons from present events and experience to the coming of that Kingdom, not vice versa. His gospel of the End rests on the certainty of the power of God which is with him in the present."¹⁶⁴ The force of the present is certainly picked up by recent writers. And the only apparent road-block is such an apocalyptic construction as Mark 13.

A most thorough exponent of the authenticity of this chapter is G.R. Beasley-Murray.¹⁶⁵ His conclusions are subjected to a very critical analysis by Perrin and are rejected. The rejection is firmly based on two points. First, it is revealed by an investigation of the vocabulary that there is a very high percentage of words not used elsewhere by Mark. Second, "...we have a series of quotations and allusions woven into the text of the chapter and taken verbatim from the LXX or Theod.,... We have no single instance of necessary dependence upon any text other than Greek. All this is absolutely different from the usage elsewhere in the recorded teaching of Jesus in Mark."¹⁶⁶ Bornkamm dismissed Mark 13 as an apocalyptic composition on other grounds. He notes that it deals with time and a calendar of events, a procedure forbidden elsewhere. Mark 13:14 (let the reader understand) is also taken as proof that it is an apocalyptic composition.¹⁶⁷

162. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 15. 163. Ibid., pages 16-17.

164. Ibid., page 50.

165. G. R. Beasley-Murray, Jesus and the Future.

166. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 133.

167. Bornkamm, Jesus, page 94; also see Kämmel, Promise, pages 95f.; Schweizer, Church Order, pages 25-6.

Having seen by the investigation of the relationship between ethics and apocalyptic that the latter had little effect on Jesus' teaching, it is possible to acknowledge the position that it was the significance of the present that really ended the rule of thorough-going apocalyptic.¹⁶⁸ We may conclude that the relationship between ethics and eschatology in Jesus' teaching is positive because the ethic springs from the present nature and activity of God in the ministry of Jesus.

The fifth point of Filson's summation comes very naturally at this place. The Kingdom has a present realization in the ministry of Jesus, however, its full consummation lay in the future. W.G. Kümmel's book, Promise and Fulfillment is recognized to have given this point a very thorough and well-founded approval.¹⁶⁹ "Going beyond the 'realized' eschatology of C. H. Dodd and the 'futurist' eschatology of J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer, Kümmel demonstrated that for Jesus the Kingdom of God was both a present reality and an imminent future expectation."¹⁷⁰ To go with Kümmel's review of the biblical texts, there are the comprehensive works of Gösta Lundström and Norman Perrin. Both of these volumes are exhaustive examinations of recent thought on the Kingdom of God. The authors independently support the conclusion that the Kingdom of God was for Jesus present and future. Lundström states his case most effectively in chapters thirteen and fourteen. The former (pages 232-8) is his own conclusion, and the latter (pages 239-278) is a survey of the work of authors who have supported both the present and future aspect of the Kingdom. (It is interesting that since the work of Otto and Dodd, Lundström says of the efforts of the Roman Catholic Rudolf Schnackenburg: "The most important contribution seems to me to be Schnackenburg's Gottes Herrschaft und Reich."¹⁷¹) Perrin's arguments about the present and future nature of the Kingdom are given in summary form,¹⁷² but one of the strengths of the book lies in his ability to move the material reviewed around these two poles.

168. Kümmel, Promise, pages 153f.; Lundström, The Kingdom of God, pages 232f; Schweizer, Church Order, pages 25f.; Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, pages 93f.; Perrin, The Kingdom of God, where it is a recurring theme.

169. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, pages 212-19.

170. E. Earle Ellis, "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke", NTS, Vol. 12, No. 1, October, 1965. page 27.

171. Lundström, Kingdom, page 278.

172. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 74-8, 83-4

Several of the sayings which emphasize the present nature of the Kingdom will be reviewed here to show how this side of the two-fold conclusion was reached.

(i) Mark 3:27 (The Binding of the Strong Man). Since the Strong Man is bound and his plunder taken from him, it is the case that the Coming One is here.¹⁷³ This is so because the reference to the Strong Man is to Satan (Isa. 49:24f.), and the idea of binding the evil powers is an eschatological conception (Isa. 24:22f.).¹⁷⁴ And the exorcisms show that Satan is being overcome by the sovereign power of God in the present experience of men.¹⁷⁵ This interpretation means that the Kingdom has come.

To discount this obvious meaning of the parable it is necessary to deny its historicity and/or give it another interpretation. Since even Bultmann has a measure of confidence in this as a word of Jesus the first possibility is not a very likely one.¹⁷⁶ However, Bultmann does see merit in the other approach for he suggests that Jesus understood his miracles as a sign of the imminence of the Kingdom.¹⁷⁷ This suggestion is elaborated by Fuller and decisively rejected by Kümmel.

Fuller: The exorcisms of Jesus are the preliminary assault on the Kingdom of Satan, preparatory to the final overthrow at the End. The strong man must first (πρωτον) be bound, and then (τοτε) his goods can be spoiled. The (πρωτον) refers to the ministry of Jesus, the (τοτε) to the decisive event of the future. 178

Kümmel: But this fight has already been won, because Satan must be bound if he can be robbed of the children whom he has dominated. And as it is definite Jewish expectation that in the last day Satan will be bound, this pronouncement too means that the Kingdom of God has begun its operations. 179

(ii) Luke 11:20, Matt. 12:28 (Casting out Demons by the Finger(Spirit) of God). The similarity with the preceding verse is very noticeable. It too has a direct connection with the Old Testament where creation(PS. 8:3) and the miracles of Moses(Ex. 8:9) are connected with the finger of God. The

173. Jeremias, Parables, page 92. Cites that the same found in the Gospel of Thomas 35.

174. Taylor, Mark, pages 241-2.

175. Perrin, Kingdom of God, page 171; Lundström, Kingdom of God, page 233; Baird, Justice of God, page 189; Kümmel, Promise, page 109; Hunter, Interpreting the Parables, page 48.

176. Bultmann, History, page 105. 177. Bultmann, Jesus, page 173.

178. Fuller, Mission, page 38. 179. Kümmel, Promise, page 109.

conclusion to be drawn is obvious. "Jesus had at his disposal the creative power of God, and a new age had begun with Him."¹⁸⁰

This interpretation can be attacked on several grounds, the most basic of which is linguistic. The argument is that φθάνειν and ἐγγίζειν are synonymous, both translating the same word (m' t) and meaning to near or to approach. Kummel grants that they may on occasion have the same meaning, but he argues that φθάνειν in the past tense may denote something already active. He sees it as no accident that ἔφθασεν and not ἔγγικεν is the verb here.¹⁸¹

Fuller at once concedes that anyone who expounds the "present" translation has a good case. But the verse is an example of the prophetic device of speaking of a future event as though it were present. Here this is so because of Jesus' overwhelming certainty of the future event.¹⁸² Perrin's answer to this argument is a classic one. "Here one could reply that the exorcisms which occasioned the saying are not the product of a vivid prophetic imagination but an indubitable fact in the present, and that this is a strong argument for taking the verse in its literal sense."¹⁸³

Another possible method of rejecting the "present" meaning of the verse is attempted by Bultmann and Dibelius who suggest that the exorcisms are only signs of the Kingdom. Tödt rejects this interpretation on the grounds that it robs the saying of its directness.¹⁸⁴ Let it be noted in passing that Tödt, in this context, states very clearly the problem of reconciling the two opposing concepts of a future and present Kingdom. His answer is of great importance to this entire paper and will be discussed below.

It may be stated then that an overwhelming consensus has developed regarding the "present" translation of this verse.¹⁸⁵

(iii) Luke 17:21 (The Kingdom of God is "among" or "within" You).

The obvious meaning is that the Kingdom of God is either present among or

180. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 233.

181. Kummel, Promise, pages 106-7; T.W. Manson, Teaching, page 124.

182. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, page 26.

183. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 87.

184. Tödt, Son of Man, page 261.

185. Kummel, Promise, pages 106-7; Tödt, Son of Man, page 261; Perrin The Kingdom of God, page 87; T. W. Manson, Teaching, page 124; Filson, Matthew, page 150; Robinson, Matthew, page 112.

within man. It seems that the debates about ἐντός have been the major interest in the verse. J.A. Baird, following in part Dodd's argument, gives an extensive argument in favour of the translation "within".¹⁸⁶ The strength of his case lies in the fact that ἐντός rather than ἐν is used. The latter is frequently used by Luke to signify "among" while the former, which may very definitely mean "within", is only found on this one occasion.¹⁸⁷ The linguistic implications favour the translation "within". But there is a ground for rejecting this since it does not seem to agree with Jesus' eschatological conception of the Kingdom and would be without parallel in the gospels.¹⁸⁸ Baird, however, argues that Jesus did not interpret the Kingdom in a purely "external eschatological sense" but "as an immediate, inner presence within the souls of men."¹⁸⁹ This is another solution to the problem which Dodd raised, as cited above.¹⁹⁰

At the moment the important consideration is whether or not the verse means that Jesus thought the Kingdom was present. Fuller argues that it only means the signs were present.¹⁹¹ This he bases on the fact that the signs were under discussion and not the Kingdom. B.S. Easton took this argument a step further by interpreting Christ's answer to mean that when the Kingdom comes it will be immediately visible to all and unmistakeable. Because of this and the connection between v. 21 and vv. 22ff., he concludes that the 'is' cannot be emphasized.¹⁹² However, these arguments are to no avail as the verse states with clarity and brevity that the Kingdom is present.¹⁹³

These verses are illustrative of those used to support the idea of the Kingdom as being present in the teaching of Jesus.¹⁹⁴ There are others

186. Baird, The Justice of God, pages 169f.

187. Ibid., page 173.

188. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 176-8; Kümmel, Promise, page 34.

189. Baird, The Justice of God, pages 169ff.

190. It is interesting that in reference to Mark 3:27 cited above, P. Carrington, Mark, page 94, and S.E. Johnson, A Commentary on the Gospel According to Mark, page 83 warn against an over-emphasis upon the eschatological interpretation of such verses.

191. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pages 28-9.

192. B.S. Easton, The Gospel According to Luke, pages 261-2.

193. Supported by Lundström, Kingdom, page 233; Perrin, Kingdom, pages 175f.

T.W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus (Mission and Message), page 596.

Kümmel, Promise, pages 34f.

194. See A.M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, pages 72-4.

which support equally well the thesis that the Kingdom of God lies in the future.¹⁹⁵ Perrin and Lundström both emphasize how this presents the interpreter of the Kingdom of God with the problem of relating the present to the future.¹⁹⁶ The perceptiveness and thoroughness of Perrin's work on the subject cannot be underestimated. Therefore, his approach to the problem of relating the present, and the future interpretation of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus will be briefly reviewed.

In the first place Perrin insists that the kingly activity of God is being manifest in the ministry of Jesus by exorcisms, by Jesus' challenge for ultimate decision in the imagery of the Messianic times, and by eschatological fellowship for the repentent sinner (pages 185-6). Perrin sees that Bultmann and his school have made a very valuable contribution at this point by developing the following idea:

To experience the kingly activity of God one must have faith, i.e. one must interpret the event aright and commit oneself without reservation to the God revealed in the event properly interpreted. Then, and only then, does the Kingdom become a matter of personal experience. But it does become present as personal experience, and so the Kingdom as present in the teaching of Jesus means, in effect, the Kingdom as potentially-actually present in the personal experience of the believer. (page 187)

In the second place Perrin insists that Jesus expected a future consummation (pages 187-189). This future is not apocalyptically described by Jesus who only indicates that it "holds out hope", and means judgement (page 188). Jesus expected that what had begun in his own ministry moved toward a future consummation, but gave no "specific instruction as to its exact nature." (page 190).

Having established these two points it is possible to state Perrin's conclusion.

To do justice to this teaching we must hold fast to the conviction that the consummation of that which

195. Lundström, Kingdom of God, pages 232f.; Kummel, Promise, pages 18-87; Perrin, Kingdom of God, pages 83-4; Rudolf Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, pages 160f.

196. The various attempts at establishing this relationship are very thoroughly discussed by Lundström, Kingdom, pages 239-48, Perrin, pages 79-129 and his own contribution, pages 185-201.

has begun in the ministry of Jesus will be, and that it will be just as much a reality to be experienced as was the beginning in the ministry of Jesus, and in the experience of those who first believed in him. How? When? Where? may be natural questions but they are illegitimate questions in view of the fact that the teaching of Jesus seems deliberately to avoid anything that could be so construed as an answer to them (Mark 13:37). This teaching puts the emphasis where it belongs: on the state of tension between present and future in which the believer must live and move and have his being. (page 190)

The significant point about Filson's summation and Perrin's conclusion is that neither the future nor the present element overwhelms the other. The present has a validity in human history and experience. The Kingdom is held to be active in Jesus' ministry, and yet this present activity inevitably points to a future consummation.

Having completed a review of the question of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus, it is now necessary to see what specific implications there are for the church in the intention of Jesus. The first question must be whether or not the Kingdom of God and its interpretation in the ministry of Jesus precludes the church or opens a possibility for its inception. Secondly, it will be determined if the material reviewed can make any contribution to the specific topics of authority, salvation, community, separation, and ministry which have been investigated in this paper.

Can the interpretation of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus allow for the possible beginning of the church? There are several negative responses to this question, and they are based on different reasons.

The first negative answer to be reviewed will be that of E.F. Scott. In order for him to argue that βασιλεία excludes ἐκκλησία, it is necessary to define ἐκκλησία as a "definite institution, with powers of discipline over its members."¹⁹⁷ This he believes to be the meaning that Matthew gives the word, and he thinks such a hope was foreign to Jesus for a very simple reason. "He looked for a great crisis, almost immediately at hand,

197. E. F. Scott, The Kingdom and the Messiah, page 106.

in which all formal institution would come to an end."¹⁹⁸

It is obvious that in part this argument hinges upon the thoroughgoing apocalypticism of Weiss and Schweitzer. It is reminiscent of Loisy's epigrammatic statement that Jesus preached the Kingdom and the Church was the outcome. To a degree this is what Scott supports, for he insists that after the apocalyptic hope lost its meaning the community conception became more important.¹⁹⁹

This part of Scott's objection may be answered in several ways.

(i) Assuming that he is right about Jesus' apocalyptic hope, there is no guarantee that such an expectation would exclude the possibility of the Church. Paul's letter to the Thessalonians contains such thoughts as:

For this we tell you as the Lord's word: we who are left alive until the Lord comes shall not forestall those who have died; because at the word of command, at the sound of the archangel's voice and God's Trumpet-call, the Lord himself will descend from heaven; first the Christian dead will rise, then we who are left alive shall join them, caught up in clouds to meet the Lord in the air(4:13-17, NEB).

This is a clear-cut expectation of the end time yet written by a man who in the same context speaks of his own participation in the brotherhood and the fellowship established at Thessalonica. Of this fellowship he can write: "You have fared like the congregations in Judea, God's people in Christ Jesus"(1.Thess. 2:14). To say that for Paul the Church is excluded by the apocalyptic end is impossible. It is questionable that there are grounds for such an assumption in Jesus' ministry.

(ii) The review of the thought about the Kingdom of God in Jesus' ministry revealed that the imminence of the eschaton did not fundamentally shape the nature of his ethical instruction.²⁰⁰ His ethical teaching has a permanence and even a practicality which warns against using the immediate end of the world as the means by which to interpret what was present in Jesus' ministry. The idea that the imminent end is not the decisive factor

198. Scott, Kingdom and Messiah, pages 106f.

199. Ibid., pages 104f.

200. Jeremias, Sermon on the Mount, pages 14-15; Schnackenburg, The Moral Teaching of the New Testament, pages 24-5.

in interpreting Jesus' thought is aided by another consideration. There is now no consensus that "when" the Kingdom would come was primary with Jesus. This is illustrated by several opinions. "But He (Jesus) did not wish to force on the Parousia by His death. An undefined period of time was to elapse between the resurrection and the final revelation of the Son of Man."²⁰¹ This argument is taken by Schnackenburg who notes that Mark 13:32 and Luke 17:20 indicate that Jesus denied knowledge of either the time of the end or a means of calculating the date.²⁰² Schnackenburg then does insist the Kingdom was near. But, Perrin, after noting the meaning of the verses cited says: "This teaching puts the emphasis where it belongs: on the state of tension between present and future..."²⁰³

(iii) The basic objection to Scott's argument is of course the fact that the Kingdom was present in the activity of Jesus. The minimizing effect this has upon the time or imminence of the eschaton cannot be underestimated.

If these arguments call into question one basis of Scott's negative answers, it is possible to move to an objection of his interpretation of ἐκκλησία. Because of his consideration of Kingdom as exclusively future it cannot be related to any earthly institution, in fact it precludes such a thing. The only community of which Jesus spoke was one which would inherit "the coming age".²⁰⁴ However, once the Kingdom is considered to be present then there may be a community which already participates in the Kingdom, not proleptically, but actually. On this basis βασιλεία does not preclude ἐκκλησία but makes possible its existence.

In order to see the implications of this argument it is necessary to turn to the second negative answer. It is a significant one because Küm-mel, who responds negatively to the possibility of the Church in the ministry of Jesus, does see the present activity of the Kingdom in Jesus' work. He says:

...there can be no doubt that Jesus nowhere said or intimated that the presence of the coming Kingdom of God would show itself during the interval between his

201. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 233.

202. Schnackenburg, The Moral Teaching, page 22.

203. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 190.

202. Schnackenburg, The Moral Teaching, page 22.

203. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 190.

204. Scott, Kingdom and Messiah, page 104.

death and the parousia in the fellowship of his disciples. Jesus saw the Kingdom of God to be present before the parousia, which he thought to be imminent, only in his own person and his work; he knew no other realization of the eschatological consummation. 205

The first reaction to this statement is one of surprise at its negative tone. It simply does not stand readily with Kümmel's conclusions found elsewhere which are concerned with the eschatological redemption realized in Jesus' ministry.²⁰⁶ Such a statement as quoted above breaks the continuity between the present activity of Jesus which leads to the future consummation. The Kingdom of God appears to have made a false start and must begin again at the Parousia. Its effective realization seems to be denied, except to Jesus. The appearance of God's Kingdom is not truly realized in human experience but only manifested in Christ.

Tödt's criticism of Kümmel at this point is very incisive. He notes that Kümmel holds the Kingdom to be present in advance in Jesus.²⁰⁷ But he asks what surely must be the pertinent question: "But ~~effective~~ effective in what manner?"²⁰⁸ He rejects the idea that the negative emphasis, such as the overthrow of demons, is adequate. The reign of God has a positive gift as well. "God's reign is already present in the midst of men in the fellowship bestowed by Jesus on earth; for this fellowship does not pass away with this generation, but will be confirmed and guaranteed before God by the Son of Man."²⁰⁹

Perrin's suggestion about the reality of the Kingdom in the experience of the believer is also relevant to Kümmel's argument. This is most important to Perrin's conception of the Kingdom as present. If the Kingdom has in any real sense already come then it must be present in human experience. Man not only anticipates the Kingdom; he also participates in it. A Kingdom only temporarily manifested in Jesus' activity does not really set men in the midst of the reign of God.

205. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 140.

206. Ibid., pages 154-5.

207. Tödt, The Son of Man, page 263.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid.

Secondly, Jesus' ethic in this case would necessarily be interim-ethic. And it would be a most unusual form of interim-ethic. His teaching could only apply until his death. It has been noted above that Jesus' teaching springs from the eschatological activity of God present in his ministry. Then, if as Kümmel suggests the presence of the Kingdom can only be with Jesus and is not manifested between his death and parousia, the ethic must surely lose its validity when the Kingdom is discontinued. Jesus' "Law" only has validity when the request is preceded by "Gospel". That is to say it is an ethic of response, and there is no clue that it is short-term. It presupposes the continual activity of the Kingdom in the life of the believer until the final consummation.

The chief weakness in Kümmel's objection is his failure, as Tödt so aptly notes, to give positive expression to the manner in which the Kingdom of God is present in the historical experience of Jesus' followers. Also there are sayings which deny Kümmel's conclusion. The debated Matthew 16:18 is the most obvious, but there are others which indicate that his followers are involved in the present activity of the Kingdom. They are to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world. They are commissioned to cast out demons, and when they have completed the task Jesus proclaimed: "I watched how Satan fell, like lightning out of the sky" (NEB, Luke 10:18). They are to share the cup and the baptism which Jesus must endure. They are not able to pray "Abba", indicating a new and lasting relationship to God.

E. Schweizer, like Kümmel, admits that the Kingdom is present in Jesus' ministry, but he denies any community implication, except the one mentioned by Scott (a community waiting for the Kingdom).²¹⁰ The presence of the Kingdom does not imply a community but rather a universal summons to Man. "The present time is the time of the call, and so by his words and deeds Jesus

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210. Schweizer, Church Order, page 23.

calls all Israel, and beyond Israel people of other nations, to the coming Kingdom of God."²¹¹

As the objections of Schweizer will be dealt with in detail in another portion of the paper, there is no attempt to make a detailed reply here. It will suffice to make several observations.

First of all, Schweizer makes the very questionable decision that the present was only a time for call in view of the coming Kingdom. Tödt's criticism of Kümmel can be raised here. Is there no positive manner in which the Kingdom was present in the historical experience of men? Schweizer would answer that the disciples "have been promised entrance into the future glory, but that glory is not yet represented among them."²¹² Tödt makes a much more positive approach: "...the reign of God is already present in Jesus victory over the demons in such a way as to belong to a particular group of people (Luke 11:20)."²¹³ A basic conclusion reached in the review of eschatology was that the Kingdom had a real manifestation in human history. The failure to push through the present reality of the Kingdom actually puts Schweizer's objection very close to the apocalyptic-based rejection used by Scott.

The basic objection to the Church noted by Schweizer is his dislike for the idea of a closed fellowship in Jesus' ministry. He will not yield to the principle that a message may be directed universally but accepted by only a few, many may be called but only a few chosen. The consequences which issue from accepting or rejecting Jesus and his message are not given enough importance in Schweizer's approach. This aspect of his objection is more thoroughly covered in the chapter which summarizes Schweizer's thought. It is mentioned here to note that there is a sense of separation implied in Jesus' ethical instruction. This sense of separation may be examined by reviewing the thought of Perrin, Jeremias, and Schnackenburg.

Perrin examines Jesus' attitude toward the Jewish Law against the background of the present activity of the Kingdom. It is apparent to him

211. Schweizer, Church Order, page 20.

212. Ibid., page 271

213. Tödt, Son of Man, page 263.

that Jesus superseded the Law of Moses and established an ethic appropriate to the End-time which was beginning in his work.²¹⁴ The most cogent statement on the subject he gives in the following manner:

...the eschatological teaching of Jesus is concerned above all with the experience of the individual who responds to the challenge of the kingly activity of God in his ministry, and that the ethical teaching is therefore concerned with what the individual must do as he is then caught up in the eschatological tension between present and future. 215

The significant point is not simply that Jesus contrasted his ethic to that of Moses. It is more important that the ethic is not universal in scope but directed toward the person who has responded to the Kingdom. Great support for this point of view is found in Jeremias' writings when he observes that Jesus' ethic is really Gospel and not Law. "In order to make the difference clear, one should avoid in New Testament theology the terms Christian ethic, Christian morality, Christian morals, because these secular expressions are inadequate and liable to misunderstanding. Instead of these one should speak of lived faith. Then it is clearly stated that the gift of God precedes His demands."²¹⁶ Jesus ethic is directed toward those who have responded to God's gracious gift. Or one may follow Schnackenburg's thought: "the real ground of moral obligation is the perceptible saving action of God in Jesus' coming and activity, his revelation of redemption, which is both historical and eschatological..."²¹⁷ The fact that men who responded to his call were to live a faith in response to that saving activity opens the possibility of a new kind of life for those who believed.

It would appear from the review and response to these negative answers that the Kingdom of God as manifest in Jesus' ministry opened the possibility of a new fellowship. The implications of eschatology in Jesus' teaching will be examined under the five areas cited above to see if such a conclusion can be maintained.

214. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 76-8.

215. Ibid., page 201.

216. Jeremias, The Sermon on the Mount, page 32.

217. Schnackenburg, The Moral Teaching, page 25.

(i) Authority. Unless unusual authority may be attributed to Jesus there is little chance of talking about a distinct community gathered about him. He must have been conscious of great authority if he was to establish a new fellowship of those who belonged to him. Does the significance of the Kingdom of God deny or enhance his authority?

The immediate answer is that the presence of the Kingdom of God in his person and ministry gave Jesus what amounted to sovereign authority. Lundström emphasizes that the "present Kingdom" is to be seen as concentrated in Jesus.²¹⁸ He then illustrates the results. Jesus surpasses all that is meant by prophet. He is able to give God's forgiveness(Mark 2:7); he can bind the Strong Man and cast out demons by the use of the finger of God. Kümmel likewise notes that the unique authority of Jesus is related to the present activity of the Kingdom.²¹⁹ The very fact that the Kingdom of God was present in Jesus' ministry must have indicated an authority sufficient for a new community. One proof of this lies in the interpretation of such a saying as Luke 12:8f.(par. Mark 8:38; Matt. 19:28). Tödt has argued for the authenticity of the verse but denies that Jesus is identifying himself as the coming Son of Man.²²⁰ Nonetheless his interpretation of the meaning of the verse confirms the point in question. Tödt acknowledges that the one who confesses Jesus, that is confesses fellowship with him before men who are in opposition to him, will be confirmed before the Son of Man in the coming Kingdom of God. Kümmel also treats the verse as authentic and assumes that Jesus identified himself as the coming eschatological Judge.²²¹ But, as Perrin rightly says, whether or not Jesus referred to himself as Son of Man is relatively unimportant. What is important is: "that the kingly activity of God was manifest in him to those who responded to the challenge of his ministry, and that in fellowship with him the believer looks toward the final consummation with confidence and hope."²²² Scarcely more authority can be assumed under any circumstance. Jesus promised that by confessing himself entrance into the Kingdom, now and later, was

218. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 235.

219. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 154.

220. Tödt, Son of Man, pages 40-48, 54-60.

221. Kümmel, Promise, pages 44-5.

222. Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 111.

assured, This certainly indicates Jesus' concept of his own authority.²²³

That this authority implies something new and separate is indicated by the surpassing of the Jewish Law. "Jesus even goes so far as to set his teaching over against that of the Torah. The criticism which is implied in the antitheses to the Torah would be, in the eyes of his contemporaries, blasphemy against the Divine Law and as such the decisive break with Jewish piety."²²⁴

The authority of Jesus surpasses that of Moses. He expresses the final will of God in view of the presence of the Kingdom. He speaks the authoritative word on the conduct of life. Such authority, with implications for surpassing the Judaism of his day, certainly opens the question of the people who respond positively to it.

(ii) Salvation. Are there soteriological implications revealed in the discussion of the Kingdom of God? A positive answer may be given by noting the two most important items in the preceding discussion. They are a true emphasis upon the present reality of the Kingdom and the nature of the ethical instruction in the preaching and teaching of Jesus.

In regard to the first of these items it may be said in a general way that once the present activity of the Kingdom is seen in the ministry of Jesus a soteriological implication may be drawn. This will be illustrated by the conclusions of five scholars who certainly do not approach the topic of the Kingdom from exactly the same perspective.

223. This same conclusion is drawn by R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology, especially page 123. "The distinction between Jesus and the coming Son of Man corresponds to the distinction between the kingdom as it is breaking through in Jesus and in its final consummation. Jesus is not concerned to impart teaching about the future Son of Man, any more than he imparts teaching about the future kingdom or indulges in apocalyptic elaboration...The Son of Man merely acts as a kind of rubber stamp at the End for the salvation which is being imparted in Jesus. Despite the distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man, the ultimate import of this saying is therefore implicitly christological."

224. Jeremias, The Sermon on the Mount, page 10.

E. F. Scott, as has been mentioned above, was influenced by an apocalyptic view of the Kingdom; although it must be noted that he saw the Kingdom having effect in the ministry of Jesus. This was possible because of the nearness of the Kingdom which was in fact "anticipated" in Jesus.²²⁵ Jesus would bring in the Kingdom, and thus he asserted a messianic vocation. "Jesus, in His own Person, took the place of the traditional Messiah. By His claim to the office He asserted His own inherent right to be the Judge and Saviour--King in the new community of God's people."²²⁶

It is possible to find a very similar conclusion in the writings of Jeremias, who also maintains a futuristic interpretation. But, his futuristic interpretation is less decisive than Scott's. As Lundström²²⁷ points out, Jeremias sees that the time of Jesus was the time of salvation in which man is placed before the coming of the Kingdom of God. This is especially clear in Jeremias' conclusion to his work on the parables. He feels that the parables of Jesus compel those who hear to come to a decision about "his person and mission". Jeremias thinks that the parables contain the secret of the Kingdom of God. The note of urgency is sounded because it is the hour of fulfilment (e.g. the strong man is bound, the physician has come to the ill, the lost sheep are brought home). What is the conclusion? "God's acceptable year has come. For he has been manifested whose veiled kingliness shines through every parable--the Saviour."²²⁸

Kfimmel, unlike Scott and Jeremias, argues that for Jesus the Kingdom was both a present and future event. Kfimmel's entire work reflects a zeal for clearly stating and emphasizing both the present and future aspects of the Kingdom based on a correct exegesis. His conclusion regarding the meaning of this apparent contradiction is most significant for the reflection of salvation in the ministry of Jesus.

...the inseparable union of hope and present experience demonstrate the fact that the true meaning of Jesus' eschatological message is to be found in its reference to God's action in Jesus himself, that the essential content of Jesus'

225. Scott, The Kingdom and the Messiah, pages 251-2.

226. Ibid., page 252.

227. Lundström, The Kingdom of God, page 205.

228. Jeremias, Parables, page 230. (revised edition)

preaching about the Kingdom of God is the news of the divine authority of Jesus, who has appeared on earth and is awaited in the last days as the one who effects the divine purpose of mercy. 229

Norman Perrin renders a very similar verdict. He holds that "...Jesus offers to his hearers the challenge of the eschatological forgiveness of sins, and accepts into eschatological fellowship with himself the repentant sinner..."²³⁰

Tödt's primary investigation is of the Son of Man, but it involves a thorough recognition of Jesus' relation to the Kingdom. He notes throughout his investigation the soteriological implication of Jesus ministry,²³¹ Jesus speaks the final word in view of the coming reign of God. To the disciples is offered the bond of fellowship, which is a saving fellowship because it is valid even before God.²³²

The nature of Jesus' ethical instruction also confirms the fact that salvation is to be seen in a strict relationship to his person. The views of Perrin, Jeremias, and Schnackenburg have been discussed in relation to Schweizer's position. There is no need to repeat the reasoning here. It suffices to say that Jesus' ethical instruction is found to be based upon the saving activity of God in his own person, and it is an ethic pointed mainly to those who have responded to his gracious summons.

Thus the review of the meaning of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus confirms that salvation was connected to his own person and activity. Jesus as saviour for a certain people who have responded to the good news of the Kingdom certainly has overtones of a fellowship to be confirmed in the End-time by God himself. It is necessary to move on to see if there are any specific communal implications in relation to the Kingdom.

(iii) Community. It has been suggested that Kingdom and Church are not mutually exclusive terms. The review of the meaning of the Kingdom of

229. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, page 155.

230. Perrin, Kingdom of God, page 186.

231. Tödt, Son of Man, see pages 42, 67, 261f.

232. Ibid., page 293.

God has led to the suggestion that the present nature of God's reign opens the possibility of a new community. This possibility gains some confirmation from the nature of Jesus' authority and the gift of salvation which is offered in his ministry. The two most basic elements of the formation of a religious community are authority and a means of human redemption which has significance because it comes from God and has validity before him. The unusual authority and grace manifested by Jesus have a final and new aspect. They may be called final because they are manifestations of God's reign. They may be called new because they are the result of the actual new age of God. Certainly these powers will only be consummated in the future. But the significance lies in their validity which is confirmed by God.

Now the question must be raised which concerns the community implications of these conclusions. Because the Kingdom does not exclude the Church by no means proves that it does include a community. Further, the possession of those powers of the Kingdom which could lay the foundation for a new community does not presuppose the use of them in that fashion. In order to establish the positive relationship between Kingdom and Church, the approach of R.N. Flew will be reviewed. The results of the present study of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' ministry will be used to help confirm the findings of Flew.

Flew's conclusions are found in Jesus and His Church.²³³ He rejects the possibility that Kingdom may be defined as a Utopia to be established upon the earth by human means (page 27). Likewise Flew does not equate Kingdom and Church. The usual primary definition of Kingdom as the Divine Sovereignty or Reign is accepted by him (pages 31-33). However, he moves from this sense of the Kingdom to a further consideration.

But the sovereignty does not operate in a vacuum. We are led to a secondary sense of the word, to describe the sphere in which the Kingly Rule is exercised. The word realm is almost as ambiguous as is the word kingdom, because it contains both the idea of a domain and the idea of a community.

233. R. N. Flew, Jesus and His Church, especially pages 23-40

I venture to suggest the word 'domain' as accurately translating this sense of the word Basileia (page 34).

He cites as confirmation of this secondary meaning of Basileia the following passages: Mark 9:47; Matt. 7:21; Matt. 23:13; Luke 11:52; Matt. 16:19; Luke 16:16; Mark 10:14-15; Matt. 21:31. Of these he chooses the last two for special comment.

Mark 10:14-15 (Receiving the Kingdom as a Little Child). He notes that the Kingdom is spoken of in three ways: "belonging to", "entering", "receiving" (page 34). The "belong" is descriptive of the kind of people who participate in it. "Receiving" shows a new dependent relationship to God. "To enter it is to gain admittance to a new domain where God's will may be done on earth" (pages 34-5).

Matthew 21:31 (On Entering the Kingdom of Heaven). Flew mentions the verse as one usually taken to be authentic. It is not essential to his purpose to determine whether or not the verse has an exclusively present interpretation. What does matter is that the verse describes two types of people who are in the "new community of the new age". Flew does not take this to mean domain supplants sovereignty as the primary definition of Basileia, but that it is inevitably a secondary meaning which is derived from it.

With this sense of "domain" in mind, Flew proceeds to those sayings which firmly imply a community. The first saying he examines is Matthew 11:11 (Comparing John the Baptist to the least in the Kingdom). He finds it impossible that Jesus meant to exclude John from the future consummation so he looks for the present reference. "If the Basileia is now manifested, there are, according to this saying..., some who have received the good news, have believed it, and now are in the domain of God's kingly rule" (page 36).

The most important saying in this context is the parable of the Mustard Seed (Mark 4:30-2). Flew cites the contrast between seed and tree as the essential point of the parable. The preaching and activity of Jesus

must be what is reckoned to be the small beginning. The large results must be the men and women who are added to the company of his disciples. It has already been mentioned above that Jeremias gives a similar interpretation to the parable. And the implication of such an interpretation means Jesus "has a gathering of a community in view." (page 39).

There are passages where Flew finds a reference to a future fellowship of believers in the coming Kingdom (Matt. 25:10,21,23,34; Matt. 26:29; Mark 14:25; Luke 22:29-30). In the last verse he sees that by Jesus "royal power" he can guarantee his disciples will participate in the joy of the final Kingdom. "It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the conception of the New Covenant lies behind this word....This is surely one of the roots of the idea of the Ecclesia." (page 40)

Flew sees that his findings are slight in regard to the idea of community implicit in Jesus' teaching of the Kingdom. This deficiency he seeks to overcome with the remainder of his book on the church. However, his findings are significant for this investigation as they confirm the idea of a community related to the Kingdom of God.

Before an attempt is made to relate the conclusions reached concerning the Kingdom of God to the suggestions of Flew, one further question should be raised. Is the idea of the Kingdom among Jesus' contemporaries void of community reference? Simply on the strength of such Old Testament ideas as new covenant, remnant, and the people of God, it would be difficult to answer negatively. The best specific reference is to the scripture of the Qumran community. The following words are found in the "New Covenant".

Howbeit, in the time of Thy good pleasure, Thou wilt (again) choose unto Thyself a people, for Thou hast remembered Thy covenant; and Thou wilt make them to be set apart unto Thee as an holy thing distinct from all the peoples...²³⁴

The idea of the New Covenant was not exclusive with Qumran. Gaster regards it to be one of the ideas which "obtained generally in Palestine during the Graeco-Roman age."²³⁵ There can be no warrant for assuming that

234. Theodore H. Gaster, The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, page 290.

235. Ibid., pages 31,32,33.

the Kingdom of God is to be interpreted individualistically. The words of Bultmann about the earliest Church are relevant in this context. "By designating itself Congregation--more exactly, Congregation of God--the earliest Church declared that in itself was the fulfilment of the hopes of the apocalyptists. Its members accordingly bear the eschatological titles 'the chosen' or 'the elect' and 'the saints.'"²³⁶ The eschatological fulfilment had a community reference. It would seem possible to say that with the establishment of the Reign of God there is included the establishment of a particular people who may be identified with one or all of the above titles.

The fact that Kingdom and community have a positive relationship in the eschatological thought of Jesus' day gives some support to Flew's position. It further indicates the possibility of being able to confirm his thoughts and verify that a particular community is related to the activity of the Kingly Rule of God manifest in Jesus.

The work of H. E. Tödt appears to be the most significant in this discussion. It is very important for two reasons. First of all he presses for a positive relationship between the present and future Kingdom. That is to say he seeks to establish the positive effect of the Kingdom in Jesus' ministry. He will not be content to see the Kingdom only in a negative aspect, what might be called the "from" aspect. To illustrate what is meant by this one might mention that a man may be freed from demon possession or from sin or from illness. But "for" what is he released "from" the powers which bind him? To answer this question it is necessary to point out again Tödt's conclusion that the fellowship with Jesus will be confirmed by the future Son of Man. The fellowship with Jesus has soteriological implications. With this in mind Tödt interprets Luke 11:20 (casting out demons by the Finger of God): "...that act of casting out the demons is an act which sets men free to follow Jesus. They are detached from what holds them back and are attached to Jesus; in fellowship with him the reign of God has already reached men."²³⁷

236. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 38.

237. Tödt, Son of Man, pages 263-4. See Howard M. Teeple, "The Origin of the Son of Man Christology", Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. LXXIV, Part III, Sept., 1965, pages 213-50. He argues against authenticity of any Son of Man saying. Rejects any connection between salvation and the person of Jesus. His method for accomplishing this is simple: (cont'd)

He succeeds in establishing a positive presence of the Kingdom of God--namely the establishment of a fellowship in history which shall be confirmed in the eschatological future. The second reason for the special significance is that the fellowship is communal. "Accordingly the future reign of God is already present in Jesus' victory over the demons in such a way as to come to a particular group of people (Luke 11:20)."²³⁸ Thus the eschatological expectation that the rule of God involves the people of God is fulfilled. And it is precisely in this fellowship that the present and future Kingdom are given a positive relationship to each other.²³⁹

If it is maintained that the activity of the Kingdom of God sets men free to follow and confess Jesus then there must be evidence that they are to act in certain ways peculiar to their experience. This is the case and may be illustrated.

J. A. Baird, investigating judgement in the ministry of Jesus, suggests he pictures the wrath of God as an opposite to the "communion of love which he came to establish."²⁴⁰ He does not deny that Jesus taught love of all men but insists he emphasized it within the fellowship of those who had in some way or another responded to the Kingdom.²⁴¹ This is supported by the conclusion already reached concerning Jesus' ethical teaching. It was primarily an ethic of response and thereby directed to certain people. The conclusion that the activity of the Kingdom established a people who were to live in accord with its gifts is difficult to resist.

As a supplement to this particular aspect of the discussion the ideas

237. (cont'd) "If a saying makes salvation depend upon loyalty to Jesus' person, it can hardly be a genuine logion of Jesus" (page 222). He believes the early Church did so. The only question is why should a prophet of the Kingdom, not unlike John, be given such significance unless he made salvation real?

238. Tödt, Son of Man, page 263.

239. See Perrin, The Kingdom of God, page 110 for similar conclusions.

240. Baird, The Justice of God, page 205.

241. See Perrin, The Kingdom of God, pages 76-8 where he compares the eschatological Torah of Christ with that of the community of Qumran. Perrin, pages 193f. also sees community implication in the Lord's Prayer: e.g. the petition 'give us this day **our** daily bread' he takes to be eschatological. "They (the disciples) are being taught to pray for a continuing experience of those things that have become theirs in their eschatological fellowship with one another and with Jesus." He also sees forgiveness of sins as the way a person may enter the fellowship of Jesus' disciples, page 194.

of Rudolf Schnackenburg will be summarized. His thoughts are important because he is a Roman Catholic scholar entering into dialogue with Protestants. However, beyond this he has written full studies of both the Kingdom of God and the Church in the New Testament. He should be immi-
nently qualified to speak of the relationship between the two.

The review of his arguments will by necessity be rather lengthy. As in the case of E. Schweizer's objections to the foundation of the Church, Schnackenburg covers most of the ground. His research will be discussed mainly on the basis of God's Rule and Kingdom.²⁴³ Schnackenburg does not see that the foundation of Jesus' community is laid by his rejection in Israel. Early in his ministry he gathers a group of twelve (Mark 3: 12-19). They are called to share in his life and activity. They may proclaim the approaching Kingdom (Mark 3:23-37; Matt. 12:28; Luke 10:18). The twelve are a "prophetic parable" revealing the promise of salvation to all Israel (Matt. 19:28; Luke 22:30b).

He moves to a consideration of the notion that Jesus was interested in the Kingdom, not the Church. "Such an interpretation completely misunderstands the Messianic and eschatological thought of Israel, in which eschatological salvation can never be dissociated from the people of God and the community of God belongs necessarily to the Kingdom of God." (page 217) However, Jesus does not seek a splinter group such as Qumran. He directs his message to all of Israel; at this point he agrees with Schweizer's contention of a "universal call". However, he adds: "Because the teaching of Jesus and his apostles was rejected by the people, contemporary Israel could no longer be considered as the eschatological community." He feels that certain passages indicate "the reduced company of disciples on earth is to be the core of the redeemed community in the future Kingdom" (219). This conclusion is supported by Luke 12:32, the "little flock" receives the Kingdom; Luke 22:29 authority of judgement given to the disciples to

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243. Especially the chapter "The Reign of God and the Redeemed Community of Jesus", pages 215-258. Page references will be given in parenthesis in the body of the text.

judge the twelve tribes: Mark 14:25, Luke 12:16, 18:30a, a promise of table-fellowship in the future Kingdom.

Schnackenburg then seeks to determine the relationship between the group of Jesus' disciples and the eschatological community. The question raised concerns the "penetration of God's kingly rule in its earthly existence and activity" (222). Kümmel's objections are duly noted and rejected. Schnackenburg immediately seizes upon the chief weakness of Kümmel's position -- the vacuum between the presence of God's reign and its fulfilment in the Parousia. He seeks to avoid this same difficulty by arguing as follows.

1. "We can remark pointedly that the company gathered around Jesus the Messiah is just as much a sign of the powerful presence of God's reign as his words and deeds, the forgiveness of sins, the expulsion of devils and the cures" (223).

- a) Disciples receive the mystery of the beginning of the reign (Mark 4:11; Matt. 11:25)
- b) Disciples have a vocation as a result of the saving activity of Jesus (Mark 1:16-20).
- c) The prayer in the Upper Room thanks the father for the gift of his followers (John 17:6).

2. "In addition to their subjection to God's rule, the disciples have also their part and responsibility" (224).

- a) Unless they continue Jesus' mission why are they taken before the Jewish tribunals (Mark 13:9par.; Luke 6:22)?
- b) By preaching with authority they reveal the continuing operating power of the Kingdom.

After a discussion of the "Church" passages (pages 226-30), Schnackenburg lists several consequences concerning the relation between Kingdom and Church.

1. The Kingdom and the community of Jesus are not identical. However, because the Kingdom was present in Jesus the community gathered about him shared in the "saving graces of the present and the promises of the future." (230).

2. The community's main significance is its future orientation. After the judgement it will become fully God's community. This is not unlike Tödt's conclusions which have already been cited.

3. "The forces of God's present reign are active in Jesus' community as in Jesus himself on account of the powers Jesus communicated to his disciples and especially to Peter". (231)

4. The community will last to the end times. But it must withstand pressures and persecutions of this day. This conclusion is mainly based on Matthew 16:18.

5. Membership in this community is not equivalent to future entrance into the Kingdom. The true disciples will be revealed by their observance of God's will (Matt. 7:21), discipleship to Jesus (Mark 8:34; Luke 14:27), and their confession of faith in him (Mark 8:38). Here again Tödt's conclusions about the importance of confessing or denying Jesus are confirmed. This point also corresponds with Perrin's idea that the disciple of Jesus is in a state of tension between the present and the future.

6. The last point of the summary is most significant for the conclusions of the paper. As in Tödt's suggestion which revealed a positive relationship between the present and future Kingdom, Schnackenburg sees the people of God as the means of uniting present and future. "The Ecclesia is the assembly ground of the elect (ἐκλεκτοί) who still have to endure their earthly combats." (232).

Schnackenburg continues his discussion in The Church In the New Testament.²⁴⁴ There he reaffirms and builds upon the conclusions already cited. He emphasizes again that Church and Kingdom are not to be equated, yet the community is not void of the power of God's Reign. His conclusions give added support to the position taken in this paper.

(iv) Separation. Schweizer and Schnackenburg both insist upon the universal nature of the call of Jesus. There is no attempt to deny that Jesus was interested in the whole people of Israel. However, the historical consequences of his ministry do not reveal a universal acceptance of his "gospel" or his demands. It must be insisted that the nature of the Kingdom as presented in Jesus' ministry does divide men into two categories, those who accept and those who reject the offer of God's grace. The entrance to the Kingdom is small and many do not find it. Jesus has come to

244. Rudolph Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament, pages 187-195.

bring a sword, to divide men. There are those things which men said of old; now they are replaced by the final word. There is an old wine skin, but there is a new wine. Surely when the Kingdom is presented in the ministry of Jesus it caused division and separation. Such separation may be illustrated in several ways.

a) There is a tension between "this age" and Jesus together with his followers. Because in historical actuality Jesus was rejected, men may be divided into two groups. Some "confess" him; others "deny" him. An excellent support for this position is found in Mark 8:38, Luke 12:8f., and Matt. 11:5f. The first two references reveal that some men belong to a wicked and sinful generation and others belong to Jesus. Hence there is a tension between the two, "Prerequisite for the tension is that Jesus and the sinful generation are separated from each other. 'Confessing' the one side actually involves renouncing the other side."²⁴⁵ The passion prophecies and the predictions of persecution are to be seen in the light of this separation and tension.

b) The fact that the Kingdom was present in the activity of Jesus makes the acceptance or rejection of ultimate significance and re-emphasizes the drastic nature of the separation.

Judgement is the outcome of the rejection of Jesus and his word of the Kingdom. J. A. Baird gives an account of the consequences resulting from the denial, rejection, or failure to see the meaning of the Kingdom.²⁴⁶ The number of illustrations of this found in Jesus' teaching is quite large. Some of the ones listed by Baird are:

1) Luke 13:25-29 (The Parable of the Closed Door) Eternal exclusion is the result for those who have no real claim to the Kingdom through Jesus.

2) Mark 8:38 The saying deals with being ashamed of Jesus and the consequences which follow from such an action. The simple result is that the Son of Man will in turn be ashamed of one taking that course. What does this mean in terms of judgement. "The predominate sense found in all these references is that of rejecting or abandoning a person or thing in a strong and decisive way."²⁴⁷

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245. Tödt, Son of Man, page 43.

246. Baird, The Justice of God, pages 215f. 247. Ibid., page 216.

3. Luke 14:35. Salt without savour will be cast away. There may be here a comparison between Jesus' disciples who are the salt of the earth and those sons of the Kingdom (Matt. 8:12) who are to be "salt" by virtue of their birth.

4. Matthew 25:31-46 (The Parable of the Sheep and Goats). "The identifying criterion of the blessed ones is their service to others, which is in effect a service to, and obedience to, Jesus....It is upon such obedience to Jesus...that the final issues of Kingdom judgement are to be decided."²⁴⁸

Judgement is the negative aspect of the Kingdom in Jesus' ministry. Blessing is the positive result. Like judgement, blessing is described in several ways.

1. The most obvious result is that those who have accepted the Kingdom, or confessed Jesus will withstand the judgement. Because they have been true to his words, they are like a house built on a great rock.

2. Following from this, one may be said to enter the Kingdom, that is one may have a place in the Divine fellowship.

3. This fellowship with God leads to a fellowship with other men. The blessing of the Kingdom has an undeniable community aspect.²⁴⁹ "Regularly in Jesus' parables of the Kingdom the servant is in close communion with other servants, the son with other sons, the guest with other guests; and we see here the beginnings of the doctrine of the Church as a spiritual fellowship."²⁵⁰

It may be concluded that the presentation of the Kingdom by Jesus caused a time of decision. Due to the fact that few accepted there resulted a division and separation. This separation may not simply be postponed to the future because the Kingdom in Jesus' ministry was already establishing a new relationship with God and the consequent blessings of His reign. The tension between those who accepted and those who rejected was a historical reality.

(v) Ministry. The real question here is whether or not those who were called by Jesus participated in the mission of the Kingdom. In a general

248. Baird, The Justice of God, page 248.

249. Baird, pages 201-2; Schnackenburg, God's Rule, pages 218-19.

250. Baird, Justice, page 201.

way it has been seen that the response to the Kingdom established a certain pattern of life. Such things as love of enemies, unlimited forgiveness, turning the other cheek, and radical obedience to the will of God illustrate this type of life. Is there a more particular calling which involves something in addition to accepting and responding to the Kingdom?

The answer to this question is given in the calling of the disciples. And it is an affirmative reply because the synoptic tradition reveals that some were called by Jesus for special service. Schnackenburg makes the wise suggestion that Mark 1:16-20 should be read in the light of 1:15.²⁵¹ The calling of the first disciples is then set in the context of the proclamation of the Kingdom. And it indicates the vocation of the disciples is set by the activity of God's reign in Jesus' ministry. There are indications that they participated in the work of the Kingdom.

They are given the mystery of the Kingdom (Mark 4:11-Luke 8:9-10, Matt. 11:25). Fuchs, with some justification rejects the saying in Mark 4:11. Speaking of Jesus' proclamation he says: "...it was in the first place a free word spoken to his hearers and not to an intimate circle."²⁵² Certainly Jesus' word was open and certainly the parables do not appear to have been mysteries to confuse. Still the disciples have a more intimate knowledge of the activity of the Kingdom and its meaning. After all they were called to be with Jesus and thereby to share intimately in the meaning of the Kingdom.

They are sent out to proclaim the Kingdom and to do mighty works (Luke 10:8-11; Matt. 10:5-8; Luke 10:16). They are in fellowship with Jesus and act as his agents. Luke 10:16 is most important in this context. It seems that again the words of Tödt most clearly state the significance.

In Luke 10:16 it is indeed stated unequivocally that Jesus as the one who sends the disciples declares his solidarity with them; and they as those who are sent forth indeed appear to be addressed not separately as individuals but as a group. Beyond that, the saying expresses how Jesus hands on some of his authority to his disciples. Jesus exousia rests on his ultimate relationship with the one who sent him, and it passes over to

251. Schnackenburg, God's Rule, page 223.

252. Fuchs, Studies of the Historical Jesus, pages 139-40.

the word uttered by the disciples. There is nothing in the text to suggest the understanding that the word thus uttered is but weak. 253

Two of the essential powers of the Kingdom are given to Jesus and passed to the disciples. They may proclaim the word and perform mighty works. These things they do in solidarity with Jesus and as servants of the Kingdom.

What of the duration of this calling? Apparently their authority is based on their fellowship with Jesus; it is dependent upon that relationship. If it is true that this fellowship is to endure then likewise would their authority and their service.

Conclusion.

The review of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus gives support to the idea that Jesus gathered about himself a community which he intended to be his own. The results of the investigation which led to such a conclusion will be listed.

1. The Kingdom of God was really present in the ministry of Jesus. It took effect and was experienced historically in the lives of people who responded to it. The Kingdom demanded a certain response which may be called the "ethic" of Jesus. There was a peculiar way of life as a result of the activity of the Kingdom. Thus two community forms are visible: the blessings of the Kingdom and the "Kingdom" way of life.

2. The Kingdom of God had a positive present and future reference. Contrary to apocalypticism, Jesus' thought moved from the present experience of the Kingdom to the faith in its final completion. In the present the powers of the Kingdom freed men that they might be in fellowship with Jesus and hence with others who confessed him. The future positive reference was that this fellowship would be confirmed by the Son of Man.

3. The Kingdom of God had a community reference in Jesus' day and was not to be conceived of in purely individualistic terms. True to this there are community implications in the Kingdom teaching of Jesus.

4. The group of Jesus' disciples participate in the calling of the Kingdom. They may also preach the Kingdom and manifest its powers. - Anyone

who accepts them likewise accepts Jesus. Thus the boundaries of the fellowship are flexible.

5. The presence of the Kingdom in Jesus has the authoritative and soteriological implications necessary for the establishment of God's people.

It should be noted that there are institutional forms present in these reasons. There is a "Law"; there is a confession; there is a mission. But the emphasis should not be placed upon them. To do so would be to make the mistake of attempting to define the community of the earthly Jesus by that community which subsequently developed from it. The reverse should be so. Then one may ask: Does the Church exist today and if so does it manifest those things which make it the people of God through Jesus the Christ? That is to say: has it the positive blessings of God's Kingdom; does it recognize the ethic of response; does it offer men fellowship one with another through allegiance to Christ; does it proclaim now God's gracious reign and await the fulfilment in the future? If so it may be called the "Church".

CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLIEST CHURCH

The purpose of the present chapter is to see if those elements of Jesus' ministry discussed above reappear. And if they reappear, are they in any way constitutive of the Church? The answer will be determined in some manner by the principles which are used to approach the situation of the primitive Church as it existed immediately after the death of Jesus. Several principles will be suggested before actually tracing the history of the elements of the ministry of Jesus from which the Church grew.

(i) It is impossible to talk about the primitive Church without talking about Jesus of Nazareth. Even Bultmann, who draws a most severe line between Jesus and the Church, must say:

But the very attitude of the Church is significant; it could not possibly have taken for granted the loyal adherence to the Law and defended it against Paul, if Jesus had combated the authority of the Law. 1

For the certainty with which the Christian community puts the eschatological preaching into the mouth of Jesus is hard to understand if he did not really preach it. 2

E.F. Scott did much to demonstrate the eschatological import of the message of Jesus, therefore, it is not surprising that he has written:

It may be gathered from the whole attitude of the early Church that Jesus had described the Kingdom as future. The disciples were

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1. Bultmann, Jesus, page 62.
 2. Ibid., page 124.

acquainted with his mind as we, who know it through the few sayings preserved to us, cannot pretend to be. They were aware that he had looked forward to a great doming manifestation, and now they eagerly awaited it. The Lord had died and risen again and had thus attained to his full office of Messiah. ...At any moment he might return from heaven, and the Kingdom which he had promised would be ^{come} a fact. The mood of the early Church is inexplicable unless we can assume that Jesus...had inspired the disciples with a mighty hope. 3

And on the same subject as Scott, John A. T. Robinson, though reaching a conclusion exactly opposite to Scott, has to admit:

The early Christians, that is to say, expected Jesus because Jesus himself taught them to expect him. This is on all counts the most obvious explanation, and the burden of proof lies squarely on anyone who would deny it. 4

As a portion of his introductory statement to the Christology of the New Testament, Oscar Cullmann observes:

The early Church believed in Christ's messiahship only because it believed that Jesus believed himself to be Messiah. 5

In each one of these quotes it will be noted that the authorities cited have made use of a common principle, namely that the reason the early Church held this or that view was because Jesus had taught the same thing. Bultmann would like to believe that Jesus was just like any other Jew in regard to the Law, and therefore, he does not hesitate to summon the early Church to his side. Likewise, he has stressed Jesus' activity as an eschatological prophet, and he finds it quite normal that the early Church might have put words concerning such a subject into the mouth of Jesus. Robinson gives the principle the nearest thing to a concise statement when he says

- 3. E. F. Scott, The Nature of the Early Church, pages 37-8.
 4. J. A. T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, page 24.
 5. Cullmann, Christology, page 8.

that the burden of proof will go against anyone who denies that the early Church got its apocalyptic hope anywhere else but from Jesus. Scott also applies the principle to the expectation of a future consummation, and Cullmann applies it to Christology. Each of these scholars draws upon the same principle: The logical explanation for the activity and beliefs of the early Church lies, on many occasions, in the ministry of Jesus. The principle is most logical since the early Church did not immediately produce anyone near to Jesus in vigor of statement and interpretation. For his immediate followers the words of Jesus were authoritative and loaded with significance.⁶ It is only natural then that the early Church would reflect, and no doubt distort, the mind of Jesus on many matters. For the purpose of this paper and its method of approach, it is a most important principle. It provides a reason for seeking a reappearance of those elements upon which much stress has been laid. And the principle can help to give an added proof to the existence of those elements in the ministry of Jesus if they reappear in the early Church.

(ii) The principle leads to two other statements. The first one is a statement of preference, and the other is an expression of the obvious. The preference is not an absolute one but one of logical probability. Namely, the early Church as it preserved the records of the ministry of Jesus and developed its christology, would more likely read meaning out of Jesus' life than into it. This is not to say that in the light of the Resurrection experience Jesus was not viewed from a new perspective. But it does assert that no titles of honour and authoritative attitudes would be read back into the activity of Jesus as quickly as they would be implied to the mind of the Church from that activity. So Weiss says:

If Jesus had made upon his followers only the impression of a weak, suffering, resigned human being, if he had appeared to them only as one 'God-seeker' among others, the change would be indeed unaccountable,

6. Johannes Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, pages 77-82.

and we could scarcely avoid a doubt that the cult of Jesus--a 'Jesus-piety'--should have arisen so speedily...We shall never grasp the Christ-religion of the primitive Church as something genuine and real unless we steadily take into account the continuing influence of the personality of Jesus, so strong and sure of himself.. 7

To follow the idea in a more pointed application, reference to Christological titles may be examined. For example, Oscar Cullmann notices that one phenomenon of Jewish-Christianity was the ascription of the title the "True Prophet" to Jesus.⁸ Cullmann points out that this was natural because of the authority of Jesus' proclamation and because Jesus' ministry corresponded to the expected activity of the True Prophet. But, Cullmann notes that Jesus made no such claims, and the title is given him because: "This function exactly corresponds to the earthly vocation of Jesus as he actually conceived and executed it."⁹ He further notes the same sort of thing about the title "Lord" and its reference to Jesus. The possibility for the use of "Lord" in the absolute sense is derived from the authority Jesus exerted, in his earthly existence, over the disciples.¹⁰ The same point was also made in reference to the title Son of Man. From the point of view of logical preference, it is natural to suppose that the primitive Church sought to interpret the significance of Jesus' ministry in the light of its new experiences. So some could see in his activity the functioning of the True Prophet. This is more natural than assuming that Jesus was the True Prophet and then shaping all the records to fit such a conception. As Weiss rightly suggests, one must be aware of the continuing impact of Jesus' ministry and personality. This principle is not applied to the later years of the Church but to the early times when the Church at Jeru-

7. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, Vol. I, page 39.

8. Cullmann, Christology, esp. pages 39-49.

9. Ibid., page 44.

10. Ibid., pages 204-5.

salem was filled with those who had been in his company and knew first hand the ministry rich with implications. The principle then becomes: The early Church applied titles of honour and was a 'Christ'-religion because the ministry of Jesus could bear the weight of those attitudes.

(iii) The third principle is more a statement of the obvious than a principle of approach. It is the simple assertion that there was after the death of Jesus the "cult of Jesus". The existence of this group is a ponderous obstacle for scholars who dismiss the Church from the mind of Jesus. Why is it such a problem? The answer may be found in any history of the earliest Church, but Bultmann, since he so flatly denies Jesus' intention for the Church, will be cited. He says:

As the synoptic tradition shows, the earliest Church resumed the message of Jesus and through its preaching passed it on. So far as it did only that, Jesus was to it a teacher and prophet. But Jesus was more than that to the Church: He was also the Messiah... 11

That the earliest Church regarded itself as the congregation of the end of days, is attested both by Paul and the synoptic tradition. 12

It is a characteristic of the earliest Church that it felt itself to be rescued for the eschatological order by Jesus of Nazareth, Messiah. Why? On page thirty-two of volume one of his theology Bultmann concludes a chapter entitled "The Message of Jesus". In this chapter he explains that: (a) Jesus' main, practically consuming, activity was the proclamation of the imminent Reign of God and a subsequent call for decision in view of this fact. (pages 4-11) (b) Jesus had no idea of a church. (page 10) (c) He did attack Jewish legalism (page 11), but he did not doubt the Old Testament, the Law, or the Temple (pages 16-17). (d) He proclaimed a radical obedience to the will of God (pages 10-26). (e) "...the synoptic

11. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 33.

12. Ibid., page 37.

tradition leaves no doubt about it that Jesus' life and work measured by traditional messianic ideas was not messianic" (page 27). Then out of this life, a congregation, with Jesus as its deliverer and preserver, arose. This approach just does not seem at all likely. The non-messianic character of Jesus' ministry and his reluctance to found a Church are statements which make no preparation for the claim that the earliest Church was a "rescued" congregation with Jesus as Messiah. And so long as it is recognized that the early Church was an eschatological congregation of Jesus there must be an explanation. There can be no blank space between Jesus and the Church. From the point of view of sheer logic it must be assumed that he did and said things which united some people into a group of loyal adherents placing utmost importance upon his activity. One only has to think of the two principles already stated. The first scholars cited were all anxious, for the proving of their respective ideas, to show how the earliest Church drew various beliefs and attitudes directly from Jesus. One presumes the Church drew these conclusions because Jesus intended to teach them. The others cited were showing how the ministry of Jesus led to the honour given to him in the earliest Church. These principles lead to insights for many of the practices of the primitive Church. But what of the Church that developed and held these beliefs? Is it logical to assume that it owes so much to the direct teaching of Jesus, that it is absolutely conscious of seeking his intention, yet does not owe, at least in part, its very existence to his actions and will? Do those principles, so readily used by New Testament scholars, not apply to the existence of the Church which so avidly sought the mind of Jesus? There should be no doubt that the immediate existence of the Church, as defined above, is a definite help in seeing Jesus' intention for the Church. It may not prove that Jesus intended the Church, but it makes it difficult to say that he did not. Its immediate existence at the death of Jesus points the investigation directly back to Jesus. And it de-

mands an explanation for its existence. So again the question "Why" is raised. It cannot be dismissed nor, apparently, can it be answered satisfactorily apart from Jesus.

The statement of these three principles has been an attempt to justify the process by which the investigation of the early Church will be carried out. It seems that they permit such an examination because: a) The form and shape for the practices of the early Palestinian Church were taken in accord with the will of Jesus as the Church understood it. b) The place of Jesus in the Church was largely determined by the impression of his claims, actions, and his ministry. c) The very existence of the eschatological congregation of Jesus makes it necessary to see if his ministry explains its existence. And as the early Church looked to Jesus of Nazareth, and no doubt to the Resurrected Lord, so must anyone involved in the question. Does the ministry of Jesus make understandable the immediate rise of the Church?

1. The Authority of Jesus. It has been argued in the preceding chapters that Jesus' claim to authority (and his application of the claim) was fundamental to the constitution of the Church. The question here becomes: Does this claim to authority reappear in the history of the earliest Church? And if so, is it possible to say that it is dependent in development on the ministry of Jesus?

As a first step in answering, another reference will be made to the title "True-Prophet" as it appeared in Jewish-Christianity. The history of the idea of the Prophet suggests that he was to be the "embodiment" of all the truth prophetically revealed. "...the emphasis lies rather on the fact that he represents in its perfection the truth proclaimed by all prophets".¹³ Yet, as previously noted, Jesus made no direct claim to such a title, and it was not attributed to him by his close followers. Why then should the title come into use? There can be no other valid reason than that Jesus, by the nature of his ministry, gave rise to its usage. "The authority,

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13. Cullmann, Christology, page 39.

ἐξουσία, with which Jesus proclaimed his Gospel was in fact not that of any ordinary prophet, but that of the final prophet: 'But I say to you...'."14 The title, as Cullmann shows quite instructively, was one of great importance as prophecy became more and more a matter of eschatological speculation. Therefore, it is significant that the title is connected with Jesus and that it corresponds exactly at the point of authority with the ministry of Jesus.

Far more meaning must be attached to the title 'Lord', as it appears in the records of the early Church, than to such a title as "True-Prophet". But immediately the question of the use of the title in the primitive Church must be raised. The conclusion is still maintained by some that the title is a product of the Greek world and not of the monotheistic Jewish heritage.

The use of κύριος in the Gospels and Acts clearly shows that it is not part of the primitive tradition. Even the vocative κύριε is rare in the oldest strata, and the usual title for Jesus is "Rabbi"...15

Of course the traditional formulation of the Hellenistic origins for such veneration of Jesus is Bousset's Kyrios Christos, and it has been followed by Bultmann. But, the Greek pail will not carry water because it has been punctured by an Aramaic spike. The history and details of the argument will not be stressed here, only the main outline. The discussion, proceeding on the lines set out by Bousset, centered around the divergence between Jewish-Christianity and Hellenistic-Christianity. It was in the latter that Jesus took on a cultic significance, an attitude apparently not appropriate to the primitive Church. The theory might have gained a much wider following than it did except for the "Aramaic spike" mentioned already. That was simply Maranatha. The word Maran was difficult for Bousset to explain. But he tried thusly: "'Since all other arguments speak against the Palestinian origin of the Kyrios title, the origin of Maranatha must also

14. Cullmann, Christology, page 44.

15. Jackson and Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, Vol. I, page 412.

be sought outside Palestine.'"¹⁶ Jackson and Lake likewise made an attempt to remove the word from primitive Christianity.¹⁷ It was carried out on the basis of the Jewish-Greek histories of the word. And they stressed the prominence of "teacher" as the earliest title for Jesus. Yet when finished with the discussion, they could make no convincing suggestion as to the origin of the word's usage, except to say that it might have been used in Antioch before its discovery by the Hellenists. Their argument corresponds to the one accepted by Bousset. But they experience the same difficulty as anyone denying its origin in the earliest Church. They cannot give an adequate alternative origin.

Taken from a positive point of view, there is much to commend the word as a part of early Christian life. The fact that the word is Aramaic is the most important factor. "The theory that Greek-speaking converts imported the worship of Jesus as 'Lord' from their knowledge of pagan cults of gods many and lords many is refuted by the early Christian use of maran..."¹⁸ This conclusion certainly has very wide acceptance in New Testament scholarship.¹⁹ In fact it seems virtually impossible to deny that the early Church spoke of Jesus as Lord. To strengthen the position of the word in the primitive Church one may refer to the usage made of it by Paul.

It is certain...that at a very early date the primitive Church of Palestine invoked its master...under the Aramaean title of Maran, 'our Lord'. The Aramaean liturgical formula Maran-atha is in itself irrefutable proof. In the most ancient Christian document that we have, I Thess. 5.2, Paul alludes to the parable of Jesus (Matt. 24.43-44, Luke 12.39-40): 'For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night.' The phrase 'the days of the Son of Man' is translated by Paul therefore as 'the day of the Lord'. 20

16. Cullmann, Christology, page 214.

17. Jackson and Lake, Beginnings, Part I, Vol. I, pages 408-16.

18. C.S.C. Williams, The Acts of the Apostles, page 142.

19. See: Filson, The Risen Lord, page 51; J.C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts, page 129; James Mackinnon, The Gospel in the Early Church, page 11; Hugh Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, page 268.

20. Theo Preiss, Life in Christ, page 48.

The fact that Paul left the word untranslated in a Greek text gives the strongest proof to the possibility that it did not arise in a bilingual location, otherwise it is difficult to explain why such a significance is placed upon the Aramaic form.²¹ J. Weiss follows the same general course when he says: "...the formula of greeting, 'Grace be unto you from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ,' is so uniformly used by Paul, and yet possesses so little that is Pauline in style of expression, we can only conclude that Paul himself did not coin it--it originated without doubt in the primitive community."²²

The term must then have been first used in the earliest Church. It did not develop there into the absolute title of the Greek-speaking Church. But, it was of ultimate significance even in Jerusalem. Its importance is seen in view of the fact that prayers addressed to the Lord were made to God (Kyrios in LXX), or they were made to Jesus who was Lord (Maran) to the early Church.²³ Weiss thinks it the most significant step taken in the origins of Christianity.²⁴ Bultmann, on the other hand, appears quite reluctant to make any positive comment about what Maranatha might have meant to the early Church. He would like to follow Bousset's argument, which he thinks is probably correct, but lacking absolute certainty he says: "In any case, the earliest Church did not cultically worship Jesus, even if it should have called him Lord; the Kyrios-cult originated on Hellenistic soil."²⁵ However, even admitting that the eschatological prayer Maranatha existed in the earliest Church proves nothing for Bultmann, who would see it as referring to God, not to Jesus.²⁶ It is not enough to say that in the primitive community there was no cultic veneration of Jesus, for even if there was no such development except in Hellenistic-Christianity, the title "Lord" is no longer used of Jesus as a Rabbi. For in view

21. Cullamnn, Christology, page 214.

22. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 37.

23. See: A.E.J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, pages 231-7.

24. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, pages 36-7.

25. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 51.

26. Ibid.

of the significance of the Resurrection, the title must refer to an exalted estimate of the position and person of Jesus: "in the primitive Jewish Christian usage it stands, not for Yahweh, but for His Servant, the Christ, the Lord in the Messianic sense."²⁷ The primitive community, in applying to Jesus the significant title Lord, confirmed its belief in his authority.

And why should the step have been taken? Why should Jesus assume the position of power and authority evident even in the Palestinian usage? There is no doubt that the influence of the Resurrection was of great importance. "This title as given to Jesus depends for its fullest significance on the Resurrection."²⁸ As Mackinnon notes, Acts does not isolate the exalted Lord from the earthly Jesus; it shows the primitive preaching, Paul included, referring back to the wonders and works of Jesus. Therefore, on the one hand the Church is fully aware of the historical Jesus, while heightening its evaluation of him because of the Resurrection.²⁹ But even the Resurrection could not have caused such an evaluation had not the earthly Jesus laid the foundation. The fact is that the step was taken because it was the natural thing to do. It has been stressed in the various parts of this paper that in his ministry Jesus sought to exert an enormous amount of influence. He made claims of ultimate significance and authority, apart from the assorted messianic titles attributed to him in the Synoptics. And, to refer to the first principle of interpretation suggested in the present chapter, it is likely that such authority would have been attributed to Jesus only if he made a basis for it in his ministry. Had Jesus only been an ordinary Rabbi or an "ordinary" prophet, it is not likely that the Church would have, after his death, attributed such authority to him.

When this rabbi appears with a special
claim on the whole person of his disciple...
and by virtue of his special authority com-
pels the disciple to absolute voluntary
obedience; then it is clear that the title

27. Mackinnon, The Gospel in the Early Church, page 11.

28. F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, page 95.

29. Mackinnon, The Gospel, page 10.

Kyrios goes beyond a polite form of address and actually becomes the expression of an absolute total claim... 30

There is no way to remove the significance of Maran from the early Church. It is a testimony to the belief of the early Christians that "his (Jesus') all-powerful hand was laid upon their whole life."³¹ But, that was a dependent attitude for those first disciples. It was dependent upon the fact that they had responded to his unconditional call. It was dependent upon the memory of: "But I say unto you" and the dramatic and awe-inspiring "Amen, Amen". It was in fact dependent upon the authority, evident in Jesus' ministry, to which they had submitted their earthly lives and eternal destinies. They had been bound together because he had consciously and intentionally demanded such a response to his call. And there is no more basic reason for the existence of the earliest Church than this claim made by Jesus in his ministry and reappearing after his death in the heightened form of Maranatha. If Jesus had not tried to make himself the pivotal point of life for these people before his death it is unlikely that he would have become such after his death. Jesus was in fact laying the basic foundation stone for his "Church" when he made an absolute claim to authority. Such is confirmed by the earliest Church, for its common bond was the Lord, whose will was all important, and whose coming was awaited.

2. Jesus and Salvation. If Jesus was intimately connected with salvation, the title Soter would not be unexpectedly applied to him. The word has both a Jewish and Hellenistic background.³² It was applied both to God and men, and it was directly connected with the coming of the Messiah.³³ But the title, as such, was really prominent outside the area of primitive Christianity in the Greek world. To fail to see the Greek influence upon the word Saviour would hardly be possible. As J.C. O'Neill remarks, it is one of those words with a "long pagan history", a history

30. Cöllmann, Christology, page 205.

31. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 37.

32. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 79.

33. Richardson, Theological Wordbook of the Bible, page 220.

which no doubt influences every use of the term.³⁴ There are several suggestions why it was not a frequent part of the primitive Palestinian terminology. One is that the connotations of the Hellenistic usage of the word were offensive.³⁵ And another is that it would have involved a simple Aramaic repetition: Jeshua, Jeshua.³⁶ But whatever the reason, the "form" of the word was given shape by the Greek-speaking church and also much of its content. Yet the basic, or perhaps more correctly, the initial content is to be found in the Palestinian Church as is seen in Acts 5:31: "He it is whom God has exalted with his own right hand as leader and saviour, to grant Israel repentance and forgiveness of sins" (NEB). The background is obviously all Jewish at this point: "As Dupont observes, Jesus was not a Saviour after the manner of a deified emperor but as a liberator from their sins."³⁷

There is a possibility, however, that salvation had only a future reference for the primitive community. For, example, speaking of Peter's sermons, Goguel says: "The framework of the theology of Peter's sermons is completely Jewish and eschatological. It centers around an expectation of salvation but does not possess the assurance of salvation which has been already realised."³⁸ Even to take this apocalyptic position does not remove the saving significance from Jesus. What it does do is to uphold Bultmann's contention that the earliest Church saw nothing messianic about the earthly activity of Jesus. This of course seems debatable, but it does not alter the fact that the earliest community made a direct connection between the Jesus known to it and the coming of a future salvation.

The content without the word Saviour was definitely a part, or perhaps it would be better to say an elemental part, of the primitive Church. It is very difficult to define precisely the exact marks which identify the primitive community. But general definitions are put for-

34. J.C. O'Neill, Theology of Acts, page 145.

35. V. Taylor, The Names of Jesus, page 109.

36. Cullmann, Christology, page 245.

37. Williams, Acts, page 92.

38. Goguel, Birth of Christianity, page 102.

ward, and the defining statements usually contain the thought that the community believed itself to be the congregation of the end times, rescued and redeemed and protected by Jesus of Nazareth, Messiah. Such a definition is backed up by the simple confessional formula of "Christian", as distinct from Johannine, baptism which arose early in the Church.³⁹ The formula was the undeveloped "Jesus is Lord". The significance of the formula was:

They simply surrendered themselves to Jesus as to one who had redeemed them, and whom therefore they must serve. From all that we learn of Christian teaching in^{the} primitive times its whole purpose was to ensure a full confidence in Jesus. 40

The primitive Church had little hesitancy attributing Messiahship to Jesus, and it gloried in his exaltation. And Messiahship implied salvation to his people. This holds good even from the apocalyptic interpretation of the Church.

In accordance with the apocalyptic train of thought in the primitive Gospel, salvation is understood in the Messianic sense. It means primarily deliverance from the coming judgement, for which the remission of sin is indispensable. In this sense Jesus is the Saviour... 41

Even for the earliest Christians it is impossible to say that there was a distinction between Jesus and salvation. The primitive Church placed its hope in Jesus, who was Messiah. The question which must now be raised concerns why the Church so acknowledged Jesus. The obvious answer, given above by Cullmann, is that Jesus so taught the Church. However, such an approach will not be followed here. First of all, the question of Messianic consciousness and titles is extremely tenuous and probably would not greatly add to the argument undertaken here. Secondly, it would seem probable from the nature of the tradition, that Jesus devoted less time to titles than to the development of those attitudes

39. A.C. McGiffert, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, pages 60-61.

40. E.F. Scott, The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. VII, art. "The Beginnings of the Church", page 180.

41. Mackinnon, The Gospel of the Early Church, page 14.

which caused his followers to see him as Messiah. Yet certainly Jesus connected himself to salvation in so many ways that it would seem very difficult to divorce the two. Even Bultmann finds: "There is indeed one estimate of him which is consistent with his own view, the estimate of him not as a personality, but as one sent by God, as bearer of the word."⁴² In this light he is willing to see Mark 8:38, which was discussed above in relation to Son of Man. The translation used by Bult-

mann is: Whoever is ashamed of me and of my words in
 this adulterous and sinful generation, of
 him the Son of Man will be ashamed, when he
 comes in the glory of his Father with the
 holy angels.

The emphasis upon "and my words" is Bultmann's. And that stress leads him to say: "Jesus is therefore the bearer of the word, and in the word he assures men of the forgiveness of God."⁴³ There is no indication in the saying which can possibly lead to a denial of the centrality of the "confession" of Jesus. And just such a saying as this draws the reality of salvation and the relationship to Jesus into the closest possible union. The Son of Man no doubt appears as Judge, but his judgement is to be executed on the basis of the individual's allegiance to Jesus. Only a background of sayings such as this can explain the fact that the early Church attributed to Jesus the salvation from sin. It has already been argued in several places that Jesus intentionally connected him-

42. Bultmann, Jesus, pages 216-7.

43. As noted in another chapter, Van A. Harvey and S.M. Ogden have drawn pointed attention to a statement made by Bultmann in his article "Jesus and Paul". Harvey in "The Historical Jesus", op.cit., page 444 says: "In his (i.e. Bultmann's) polemic against the German Christians and the Nazi ideologists who sought to widen the gulf between Jesus and Paul, Bultmann...stressed the underlying and deep affinity between them. He pointed out that underneath the quite different form of expression there was a strikingly similar understanding of existence. Furthermore...he (Jesus) so preached that a decision about his own work became the 'either-or' basis for a decision about the Kingdom. Bultmann concluded in a remarkable statement: 'If Paul, like the earliest community, saw in Jesus the Messiah, he did nothing other than affirm Jesus' own claim that man's destiny is decided with reference to his person.'" Although Harvey and Ogden wish to hold Bultmann to this position, it would probably be more correct to say that he prefers to view Jesus' activity as non-messianic.

self with salvation and thus gave the background for the conviction of the early Church that he was saviour.

The confession of Peter states expressly that he of all men is the one chosen and prepared by God--though for us the idea may lie beyond comprehension. In making this profession they had already taken the step, had singled him out from all others, and related themselves to him as his dependents, as expecting everything from him and him alone. If one cares to do so, this may be called the beginning of the religious relationship. At any rate it is this moral attitude of confidence which for us alone makes the later religious attitude of faith conceivable...44

The importance of this statement by Weiss lies in the fact that it suggests a stage beyond Jesus' proclamation of deliverance. It makes plain the action of the disciples during his ministry in which they responded to him. They responded with an idea of expectation, an expectation that all was to come from him. Only such an attitude prior to the passion would allow the confident proclamation of Jesus as Messiah by the early Christians. It was an attitude based on the belief that allegiance to Jesus would gain the favour of the coming Son of Man; that discipleship to Jesus was entrance into the Kingdom of God; that his words were a secure foundation for life against all storms; that he could take mercy and forgiveness to the sinners. No matter how much amplification of belief is brought about by the disciples' experiences of a crucified and risen Lord, the belief in Messiahship is to some degree dependent upon a prior attitude. The post-Resurrection faith in Jesus as deliverer was preceded by the fact that the disciples had already seen salvation and Jesus inseparably linked in his earthly ministry.

The first principle for the interpretation of the early Church, as stated above, should be brought to bear here. And in paraphrase of all the authorities cited in that connection one may say: It is not likely that the early Church would have looked upon Jesus as the redeemer of his people if he had not given them cause to do so. The

44. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 39.

earliest Church had a saviour, and the knowledge of this Messiah was the basis of its uniting hope. It held the belief because Jesus had so presented himself to Israel. The most convincing reason for holding such a view is that Jesus was sentenced to crucifixion for some claim to authority and that a ministry with no messianic implications leaves open the true meaning of the Resurrection.⁴⁵

3. Separation from Judaism. There seems to have been space within the walls of the Holy City for the community of the followers of Jesus. The conflicts of Jesus' ministry appear to have played little part in the development of the group assembled in his name. The expected persecution was not immediately forthcoming, and "the brethren" were relatively free to pursue their religious inclinations. But, in view of the genuine animosity and condemnation which was aroused by Jesus himself, such a situation needs an explanation. There have been several theories suggested. a) The Pharisees had no reason to persecute them because they were "such consistent Jews".⁴⁶ And also many of the Pharisees and the Sanhedrin were influenced by the liberal Gamaliel who saw no need for such a persecution.⁴⁷ b) The group was not of sufficient influence. "Only when the number had grown large, and their influence had come to be somewhat widely felt among the common people did the authorities think it worth while to take cognizance of them."⁴⁸ c) The essence of their doctrine was entirely unlikely: "that the Christians were still proclaiming a gibbeted malefactor as Messiah merely stamped them as deluded fanatics..."⁴⁹ d) Undoubtedly the reputation of James, and others like him, for pious practices helped to keep down any damaging suspicion of the group. e) Perhaps the most significant is the fact that Judaism remained open to a wide variety of dogmatic positions. For example, Rabbi Akiba lost no position for accepting Bar Cochba as Messiah. There is probably some support for Schweitzer's contention that: "Judaism is ortho-

45. See W.C.van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ", NTS, Vol. 8, No. 2, January 1962, pages 107-116.

46. G.H.C. Macgregor, Interpreter's Bible, Vol. IX, page 62.

47. P. Carrington, The Early Christian Church, I, page 43.

48. A.C. McGiffert, History, page 82.

49. Macgregor, Interpreter's Bible, page 61.

praxy, not orthodoxy."⁵⁰ However, this position should be tempered by the fact that Jesus was crucified on some religious charge.

One picture of the earliest "Christians" is that they were zealous for the Law, keen on the practices of the Temple, and if deluded, certainly not revolutionary. Some scholars would leave the impression, perhaps with some justification, that the guide to the understanding of the scriptures was scribal and Pharisaic exegesis.⁵¹ And furthermore, they "made no attempt at separating themselves off in any conspicuous or offensive way."⁵² There is much basis in fact for such a portrait of the Church at that time. But, there are other factors present which will not allow the portrait to reveal all the true situation. For example, how could the proclamation of a crucified carpenter as Messiah be inconspicuous? And is there any evidence that the Sanhedrin, if not immediately hostile, was really satisfied with the "synagogue" of the Christians? Are the Pharisees and the earliest Church to be seen as compatible as this portrait tends to suggest? Weiss, in an extreme answer, says:

The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican...would never have been preserved had the community felt itself to be even outwardly in accord with the Pharisaic party to the extent presupposed by the author of the Book of Acts. But such agreement is most impossible...The Pharisees were morally responsible for the death of Jesus, and upon his followers they fastened the charge of being companions...of one who had been a false prophet and a blasphemer. Thus there could be no permanent peace between the groups, even though the Church at first appeared too insignificant to be an object of malice and persecution. 53

Weiss has obviously overdrawn the case in the opposite direction, but he is on sure ground when he suggests, in the same context, that the preservation of the "Woes" and the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican indicates a lack of "accord". It is not likely that the Pharisees or the followers of Jesus forgot that his activity had not been in

50. Schweiger, Church Order, pages 39-40, especially footnote 116.

51. Lietmann, Beginnings, page 79.

52. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 50.

53. Ibid., page 82.

accord with Pharisaic ideals. The Synoptic records of the conflicts of Jesus' ministry are ample testimony to the memory of the early Church. Were the early Christians still devoted to the Law? The answer must be a positive one, certainly until the time of the Hellenists. But, even in their devotion to the Law, they preserved the elements fatal to a religion based on the Law. They retained the saying on divorce, which was an outright criticism of the Law. They also kept the saying about the washing of hands (Mark 7:1-13), from which it is "but a step to the revolutionary principle that no external thing can render a man unclean, but only the sins of the heart."⁵⁴

However, the portrait of the earliest Church as only a strict Jewish sect is misleading for a more basic reason than those already suggested. For the Pharisee, the Law and its correct interpretation were the common foundations for the faith. The more conservative Sadducees looked to the Pentateuch, and the priest to the ritual sacrifice. They all found a common past upon which to draw, and this past was admirably contained in their divinely inspired literature. So also the Christians shared gladly in that heritage. But that heritage was not first with them, Jesus was. Jesus was Lord; Jesus was the one to redeem his people. It is only when this fact is recognized that the situation of the early Church is seen to be always distinct from empirical Judaism. The Christians no doubt thought of themselves as Jews, but as Jews who had seen God's promises being fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth. And as Jews they practiced the form of the religion in which they were trained. But they did seem to wish to convert others to their ideas about Jesus as the one to fulfil Israel's hopes. This very attempt at conversion indicates a new basic loyalty, a new belief concerning the foundation stone of the religious life. If Judaism rejected the proclamation it remained incomplete. If the Christians continued in their proclamation of Jesus as Messiah they must eventually be considered heretical or unacceptable. Two streams flowed through primitive Christianity. One was

54. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 82.

the traditional religion with a consequent opennessⁿ to all Israel. The other was "Jesus is Lord". In the very earliest Church the pious practice of the former drew attention away from the significance of the latter. But the day was inevitable when "Jesus is Lord" would become openly dominant.

...and when he (Stephen) gave public utterance finally to a distinctly blasphemous statement, it must have become clear to all that heard him, that belief in the Messiahship of the revolutionary teacher Jesus, who had himself been condemned for blasphemy, even though it might not yet have led his followers in general to any overt breaches of the law, was unsettling and anarchical in its effects. That the religious leaders, who were concerned, above all, in the strict maintenance of ancestral law and custom, should take alarm and determine to crush out this growing heresy, which had at first appeared so harmless and insignificant, was inevitable...Hitherto the disciples had been Jews, and nothing more; now they were denounced by their brethren as heretics and thus their independent existence was clearly recognized. 55

That independent existence was actually a condition already established for the followers of Jesus. And though it remained to be worked out in those initial days of the Church, it was there. Just as Judaism had rejected Jesus' claims and authority, it must deal likewise with his followers, and they with it. There was not space within the walls of the Holy City for Jesus, nor was there eventually to be a place for "Christians" within the confines of normative Judaism. And why was there no room for them--because Jesus had made himself the center of their religious experience; it was he, in and through whom redemption and the Reign of God were being made manifest. Such a belief marked a boundary between Jews and Jewish-Christians. Even if it took until the persecution of 44 or 70 A.D. to be fully realized and implemented, the breach was there. It would seem very difficult to avoid the conclusion that Jesus had in his ministry established separation

55. A.C. McGiffert, History, page 92. See also F.F. Bruce, The Spreading Flame, page 72.

from current Judaism which would eventually be decisive. And this conclusion takes into account the fact that Jesus' message was to all Israel, not simply to a remnant. Schnackenburg quotes a statement by Schweizer which admirably sums up this idea. "'Two things were impossible for the primitive Church, to distinguish itself from the 'people of the land' as a superior nucleus on a higher plane, or to view the Israel which rejected Jesus and would not hear the call of repentance, as the authentic Israel, at least for the time of salvation.'"⁵⁶

4. The Idea of Community. Although the earliest Christians seem to have had no fixed title, they are generally referred to collectively. They designated themselves as the "brethren" (Acts 9:30) or as those of "the Way" (Acts 9:2), as well as other titles. They were no doubt thought of as a group and identified by their association with and proclamation of Jesus. So Jesus' disciples were on one occasion identified as those who had been with Jesus. There was a group consciousness among the first Christians. The feelings of community were for the most part based on a common religious expression: Jesus is Lord or Jesus is Messiah. The background and the basis for the communal life are to be found in such statements as these. But the group was marked by more than the posses-

56. Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament, page 60. See Schweizer, Church Order, pages 35-36, 41, 44-45; Mackinnon, The Gospel in the Early Church, pages 29-30; Filson, New Testament History, page 165 points out that the claim that Jesus was the Christ meant that the life of Israel should center in him. "There was no thought of rejecting the Temple and other features of Israel's life and worship, but the disciples could speak for God and for his Christ with an authority that really undermined the authority...of the official leaders and institutions in current Judaism." There is also a good case to be made for saying that the real cause of the breach between the Jewish-Christians and normative Judaism was politically and pragmatically motivated. It is argued that after 70 AD the Pharisaic party was the only one left with sufficient power to gain control of Judaism. In order to pull together the weakened nation it demanded a unified and Pharisaic interpretation of the religion, thus bringing to an end the more divergent liberalism. Since the Jewish Christians could not agree to this interpretation they were expelled. However, it must be said that, even with this approach, the obvious
(continued on 270)

sion of common religious beliefs. For the beliefs were expressed in an actual way of life. Perhaps as much as or more so than at any other time in the history of the Church, the earliest Church was a community. The communal existence of the Church at that time was marked by two of its practices. First of all, its members shared a common meal. And, in the second place, to some extent, they held their possessions in common. Before passing on to a discussion of the meaning of these two practices, it should be mentioned that the strength of these communal ties is a direct warning of the inevitable separation from Judaism. The strong bonds of a common and unique confidence in Jesus, within a religious world which rejected that hope, would tend to become stronger. In a closely knit community the various individual members would become more aware of the distinguishing characteristics of the group. And those people on the outside would likewise have an increasing consciousness of the sectarian nature of the community, which would inevitably develop its own distinctive forms and ideas.

In Acts 2:43-47 most of the distinguishing marks of the early Christian community are revealed. The initial words of verse 44 indicate the reason for the communal life: "All whose faith had drawn them together..."(NEB). Obviously the profession of faith was a response to something very much like Peter's preaching:

'Repent', said Peter, 'repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus the Messiah for the forgiveness of your sins; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.' (Acts 2:28-29, NEB).

A response of belief to such a proclamation was followed by baptism (Acts 2:41). Baptism served as an introduction to the congregation. "It can be regarded as certain that from the very beginning it was practiced in the earliest Church as the rite of initiation..."⁵⁷

56. (Continued from 269) thing is that the Jewish Christians preferred Jesus Christ to normative Judaism. This only confirms that they thought themselves to be the true people of God, the true Israel, not merely a sect within Judaism.

57. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 39.

"The prayers" (Acts 2:42) were also characteristic of the group, and "...the primary reference is probably to their own appointed seasons for united prayer within the new community..."⁵⁸ A process of conversion, a rite of initiation, and a rudimentary schedule of worship may have been features of the very earliest Church. In addition to these there were the very prominent practices of the common meal and the sharing of possessions.

The common meal is described in Acts 2:46 as "...and breaking bread at home, they partook of food in gladness and singleness of heart" (NEB). The meal was not equivalent to Jewish meals, all of which seem to have had some religious significance.⁵⁹ It had a meaning peculiar to the followers of Jesus. So Weiss says:

...when the meal was referred to briefly as 'the Prayer of Thanksgiving' or 'the breaking of bread' what was emphasized was the fact that its participants were disciples of Jesus. A Christian guest in a Jewish home...would never think of referring to the meal as a 'breaking of bread'. 60

In addition A. J. B. Higgins gives several valid reasons for holding that the meal was of a special religious nature.⁶¹ First, it is mentioned in close connection with the prayers, and secondly, "breaking bread in their homes" is placed on a level with the daily attendance of the Christians at the temple."

The 'breaking of bread' seems to have had two focal points which tend to define the nature of the celebration. The first point was the knowledge of the fellowship with Jesus. "The gift of the Eucharist is the real personal presence of the risen, glorified Lord."⁶² The characteristics of thankfulness and happiness which marked the meal were there in part because of the confident feeling of the presence of the Lord.⁶³ But, the Lord present was Jesus, and therefore the

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58. E.F. Bruce, The Book of the Acts, 1954. page.80.

59. Williams, Acts, page 72.

60. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, page 58.

61. A.J.B. Higgins, Lord's Supper, page 57.

62. Richardson, Theological Wordbook, page 256.

63. Lietzmann, Beginnings, pages 79-80.

minds of the brethren must have been also turned to the past. For certain the very act of the 'breaking of bread' must have arisen with a special significance because of the constant place it found in the ministry of Jesus, and so the disciples continued the practice. This is a suggestion that the meal was a time of recollection and "thanks for the gifts given in Jesus."⁶⁴ "Whenever the disciples gathered for a meal in accordance with Jewish custom, and one of them pronounced a blessing over the bread, they recalled the happy days when the Master had formerly blessed and broken the bread for them."⁶⁵ There can be little question that they rejoiced in the common memory of and relationship to Jesus which strengthened the fellowship, becoming a powerful bond to hold it together.

Again the question of "why" must be raised; why did this meal appear from the beginning as a fundamental part of the life of the earliest Church? A general answer must be that it reflected a practice of Jesus' ministry, too prominent not to be continued. To answer more specifically, in regards to the "remembrance" aspect of the meal, impinges upon the question of the sacrament and its institution by Jesus. It is not the purpose of the paper to investigate the development of the meaning of the Lord's Supper not to become involved in a discussion of the sacrificial nature of the institution. What it does propose to do, at this point, is to understand why the early Church so faithfully retained the tradition of the 'breaking of bread'. Why the event was such a bond of fellowship is an added question. The specific answer seems to be found in the accounts of the Last Supper where Jesus offers the loaf to his disciples as his body. For the present purpose there is no need to see such an offer connected with Jesus' death as sacrificial. It is sufficient to note that Jesus meant to make himself, with the common loaf as a symbol, a bond of unity for the disciples.

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64. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 41.

65. Lietzmann, Beginnings, pages 79-80.

'His body, that is, himself, which he had offered them in his life and teaching, and what he had come to be to them, he now gives them as the food which is to effect their union with one another, the source from whence their strength is to be renewed; he himself is to be the cement which will bind them together.' 66

Such an explanation appears logical and correct. It was their common "possession" of "the Lord" which marked the nature of these meals. And the meals themselves mark the nature of the fellowship. They were bound together, through the common loaf, in Jesus. And it appears that such a union was within the intention of Jesus. It was because he had united them that they met together with "singleness of heart". If the interpretation given above concerning the Lord's Supper is correct they were of course united in the new covenant.

The second focal point was the one of expectation. As Lietzmann says: "...the secret happiness of possessing the highest divine grace made the simplest meal in the rudest hut a foretaste of the heavenly banquet which the Lord would celebrate with his own at the Messianic table."⁶⁷ The very word "gladness" may suggest the eschatological expectation of the group.⁶⁸ It was a fellowship hoping for eschatological fulfilment, and the experience of the common table of the Messianic banquet was being prefaced in their common meals. There is no reason to look anywhere except into the ministry of Jesus for the basis of this hope. He had revealed to them the promises of eternity. His parables had dealt with this same Messianic banquet, and he had opened the way to the Kingdom through discipleship. That such is the case is confirmed by the hopes of the earliest Church. Jesus had bound them together with a common hope of "eternity", and he was for them the one through whom the hope would be realized. This hope had been intensified by the appearance of the Risen Lord, so that past, present, and future are held together.

66. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, pages 60-1, quoting Heitmüller, art. 'Abendmahl'.

67. Lietzmann, Beginnings, page 79.

68. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 40.

A second prominent practice of the early Church was the sharing of possessions. Some scholars have been quick to point out that the picture given in Acts 2:45 and again in 4:34 is ideal. It certainly seems probable that the Christians did not hold all in common.⁶⁹ But, still there was a remarkable degree of communal property. It was in fact carried out to such an extent that the Jerusalem Church was eventually reduced to poverty. Certainly the eager expectation of the end reduced the premium placed on possessions, but that expectation does not explain the phenomenon. The practice has its explanations on the lines of F.F. Bruce's suggestion that the Christians "...with a deep sense of their unity in the Messiah, gave up the idea of private property and 'had all things common.'"⁷⁰ This line of reasoning is followed by L.S. Thornton, who thinks it probable that the practice was a result of 'one heart and soul', rather than eschatological expectation.⁷¹ In the same context he points to the actions of the family where goods are shared because of a "natural kinship". The family relationship seems the best explanation, and it is summarized in the following quote:

What is in view here is clearly not absolute communism, but a sharing of goods for the benefit of those in need. Nevertheless the motive was probably not mere charity, but the recognition that the claims of the Christian family are superior to those of the individual, and brethren must have their share, not only because they are needy, but because they are brethren.⁷²

There is no way to avoid the fact that the practice of sharing possessions indicated a new family, a new kinship. And the family life is to be found because "all those of the same belief were drawn together". There is an implicit idea of separation in this new kinship. For the family of Abraham has been superseded by the family of Christ. And the ties between the various members of this

69. Goguel, Birth of Christianity, pages 104-5.

70. Bruce, Acts, page 81.

71. L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, 1942. pages 7-8.

72. Macgregor, Interpreter's Bible, IX, pages 50-1.

new family must have been enormously strong to support, even for a short period, the practice of "all things in common". The reason for the bonds of fellowship is not to be sought in Judaism but in a common belief in regard to Jesus. He was the source of their corporate life or of the new family. It was through their belief in him that they were the "brethren".

Do the reasons for this new fellowship, most accurately described by a comparison to the family, extend back into the earthly ministry of Jesus? Was the common attitude of kinship, which was the foundation for the sharing of goods, within the will of Jesus? The answer would seem to be a positive one. But, before attempting to state the argument as to why it is so, it should be said that a great impetus to unity was the common possession of the Spirit. And there is no wish here to minimize the meaning of the Spirit to the community of Christians. The importance of the Spirit for the existence of the Church is dealt with in the histories of the primitive Christian community and should not be taken as of small significance.⁷³ But even so, there is no reason to remove the impetus in the direction of a new kinship from the ministry of Jesus. The very idea of a new family is found explicitly in the episode of the True Family. The notion of union was apparent from such meaningful ideas as: "Little Flock", Jesus' reference to himself as shepherd, sharing in and working for the coming Kingdom; these show how Jesus united those who accepted his words. New loyalties and new purposes had already in Jesus' ministry given rise, for some men, to a new community.

This sense of a union among those who believed in him had begun in Jesus' lifetime, and although he formed no sect or party, he had sought in every way to confirm it. He had impressed on his followers that they were brethren. He had united them in ardent devotion to himself. 74

Perhaps no other single fact so well places the idea of a union

73. See for example, Cullmann, The Early Church, pages 105-20.

74. E.F. Scott, Interpreter's Bible, VII, page 177.

of men in the mind of Jesus as the sharing of possessions. This is not so because he necessarily advocated such economic procedures, but because he had laid the foundations of a new kinship which made the practice possible. The members of the early Church were then obviously brethren of the same family, and they were all together as such because they held a common belief. Why were they a community which can be so described as a family? "He had impressed on his followers that they were brethren. He had united them in ardent devotion to himself."

5. A Ministry. The position of Jesus' disciples in the primitive Church has often been described in only negative terms. Even the authority and leadership of Peter has often come into question and sometimes, it appears, almost denied. But any attempt to see the earliest Church without the leadership of Peter, and certainly others among the Twelve, loses sight of a fundamental question. Could the earliest Church have continued to exist without the peculiar qualifications which the disciples possessed? The records indicate, as already noted, that the new converts were baptized into the group. By whom were they baptized? And new converts were converted by preaching. Who were the first preachers? The community cherished the words and activity of Jesus. Who were the people most qualified to teach? And in such a community there should have been some source of immediate authority. Who possessed such authority? The book of Acts records, in numerous places, that the apostles baptized, preached, and taught. And it is also suggested that their teaching was with authority for the new converts were to adhere to it (5:42). They held such a position of importance because they had been with Jesus and because he had given them authority to preach and heal. In other words they possessed their ministerial credentials because Jesus had called them to be with him.

The question then arises: But did he intend them to minister to his own Church, the new people of God? Of course if he did not intend to establish the new people of God the answer is no. However, in such a case, there remains another problem. Why did he call them and keep

them with him? For what purpose did he specially select a few men for close companionship? To say that they were to be prophets of the coming Kingdom is not enough. For on that basis it is not likely that the basis of their calling would have been that they might be with him. Furthermore, the vocation of warning people to repent before the fact of the oncoming Kingdom does not presuppose the long training and close association between disciple and master. In fact the training, in this respect, more closely resembles that given by a rabbi to his pupils. And the results of their relationship with Jesus fitted them, as no others, to be the "ministers" of the earliest Church. So if, as this paper suggests, Jesus intended his own people, it is likely that he trained the disciples and allowed them to share his authority so that they could lead his people: to teach, to preach, and to manifest the power of the Kingdom. Obviously, such a statement can only be a suggestion totally dependent upon the prior question of Jesus' intention to establish the people of God.

SUMMARY

Authority, salvation, the ingredient of separation, the existence of a community, and a ministerial activity are to be seen as structural elements in the earliest Church. It does not seem that by accident these same elements are so manifestly a part of the ministry of Jesus. And they all appear, not as isolated proof-texts, but in profusion throughout his ministry. Because of the existence of these elements in Jesus' life and relationships, the Church seems to have been a part of his intention. His own congregation or people or family was the ultimate result of the course he followed in almost every aspect of his ministry. And therefore, it is not surprising to find at his death a particular people, identified by their allegiance to him, confident of salvation through him, and led by his chosen disciples; the disciples who were anxious to convert many to a belief in Jesus and to baptize them into the group which shared a common faith.

The summary of the thesis depends upon the five lines of inquiry which have been constantly followed in the paper. Jesus intended to found the Church, not necessarily as a finalized institution, but in the sense of a people with a finalized relationship to the Rule of God through his own person and activity. He did prepare pieces of raw material from which he began to fashion the community. He secured his authority to teach, lead, and command as a point of common allegiance for those who accepted his claims. By his identification of his own person with salvation he made his authority of eternal significance. He allowed his followers to expect that in him Israel's hopes were being fulfilled. Therefore, he was creating, for those who had confidence in him, a new Israel and drawing a dividing line between his own followers and "unfulfilled" Judaism. He established by direct intention a new kinship and communal relationship among his followers, for whom he was the shepherd of the flock. Such a direct intention is seen most uniformly in the significance of the common meal and finally by the sharing of property within the early Church. And as Filson says: Jesus did not intend a leaderless democracy and so he gave his disciples authority.

The earliest Church is the proof of Jesus' intention. For an examination reveals that the elements which define the earliest Church may in part be traced back to the intention of Jesus. But, it should be stated that the purpose of the paper has not been to see the Church complete in the ministry of Jesus or in his intention. What is known as the Christian Church today can hardly be placed in the mind of Jesus. Much of its fundamental structure, even in earliest times, depends on the revelations of the Risen Lord and the activity of the Holy Spirit, to say nothing of the later additions. The bulk of its institutional forms are not traceable directly to the intention of Jesus. Yet, the main outline of the Church and its framework were within the ministry of Jesus. And within this framework, the significance of the Resurrection was developed and the activity of the Holy Spirit was conducted.

The present chapter was intended to confirm something of the nature of Jesus' ministry as an explanation of the earliest community. Certainly only the bare outlines of that community remain visible to the historian, but it does seem to conform to the nature and intent of Jesus' ministry. However, one question remains regarding the primitive community. Can it be better explained by the Resurrection and the coming of the Spirit? This question will be dealt with in an appendix to the present chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

The Significance of the Resurrection for Church Origins

The resurrection must be discussed as it may prove to be the decisive or explanatory factor in the emergence of the Church. As was noted above, Bornkamm would see the thought of the people of God as a possibility in the ministry of Jesus. However, he would hold that the Church is the product of the work of the risen Lord. This position is frequently held, and yet in many cases it is done on the basis that the Church is continuous with Jesus' disciples.¹ Kdmmel, for example, would see in the body of Jesus' disciples the "germ of the community".² It would be fair to say that the continuous relationship provided for in such an approach is not the same as suggested in this paper. The position taken here is that Jesus was establishing the people of God, and from this the resurrection is seen to confirm, interpret, strengthen, and make final his intention. It is not to be seen as creating the community so much as confirming it and allowing it to take something of a final form.

This should not be taken to mean that the resurrection is not seen to be of decisive significance to the New Testament community. It does denote an unwillingness to see the resurrection as the isolated creative force behind the existence of the Church. This may be shown by referring to statements made by several New Testament scholars. First of all Gloege makes the generally accepted, although still hypothetical, assumption: "If there were no Easter there would be no Christian Church."³ This is almost certainly the case, but there may be some reservations when it is preceded by: "...the preaching of the Resurrection...stands at the beginning of the history of the Church."⁴ If this is taken to mean that

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1. See, in addition to Bornkamm, N.A. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes; George Johnston, The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament; W.G. Kdmmel, "Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und beim Jesus", Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses, I, 1943.
 2. Kdmmel, "Kirchenbegriff", page 42.
 3. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, page 275.
 4. Ibid.

when the community had gained something of its final form it proclaimed the resurrection, then there is little with which to argue. It simply means that the resurrection was essential for the existence of the Church and a fundamental part of its earliest proclamation and witnessing mission to the world. However, the order of Church, resurrection, and preaching mission may be altered as Gustaf Wingren does: "first comes the Resurrection of Christ, then the mission to all the world, and finally the Church..."⁵ With this order, despite Wingren's stress on the relationship between Jesus and the risen Christ, the resurrection creates a new proclamation and mission for Jesus' followers. The proclaiming and fulfilling of this mission bring the Church into existence. However, the possibility that the resurrection created the community will be challenged. Hugh Anderson seems to have reached a somewhat similar conclusion. "Easter...is no mere addendum to other factors in the story of Jesus Christ; it is constitutive for the community's faith and worship, its discipleship and mission to the world."⁶ He makes this statement particularly on the basis of I Corinthians 15:14, which most certainly does state that without resurrection both faith and preaching are in vain. But the context of that verse should make one wary of saying that the resurrection of Jesus was the constituting factor, for there is a doctrine or belief prior to the resurrection of Jesus. "For if the dead are not raised, it follows that Christ was not raised." On this foundation, the belief in the possibility of a general resurrection is necessary for a belief in Jesus' resurrection. In other words it confirms the possibility that Jesus was raised. Likewise, the resurrection of Jesus confirms or makes valid their faith and their preaching. Paul is not saying that the resurrection constitutes faith and preaching-- it validates them. Anderson's statement would be more acceptable to the point of view taken here if it had said: "Easter...is no mere addendum to other factors in the story of Jesus Christ; it confirms, interprets, validates, and gives new meaning to the community's faith and worship, its discipleship and mission to the world." Resurrection no doubt makes the

5. Wingren, Gospel and Church, page 94.

6. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, page 187.

completed existence of the Church possible, and it may be a constitu-
tive and creative factor-- but it is not the constitutive factor. In
 fact it would be most correct to say that nothing about Jesus, life,
 death, or resurrection, is the constitutive factor. That is why it is
 difficult to accept Filson's statement: "The interpreting clue and the
 organizing fact of biblical theology is the resurrection of Jesus."⁷

It would seem better to start with Mark's words at the beginning of Jesus'
 public activity: "Here begins the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God"
 (1:1). The whole of the event of Jesus Christ must be viewed as a unit.
 For if the death is taken as the single element, it must itself be in-
 terpreted by the ministry and the resurrection. And the resurrection,
 must itself be interpreted by Jesus of Nazareth in life and death; it
 was not self-explanatory nor independent. The New Testament does not pro-
 claim the resurrection, it proclaims Jesus as Christ, crucified and risen.

The position taken in regard to resurrection and Church is then
 that the existence of the latter is dependent upon the former,⁸ but not
 exclusively. The resurrection confirms the Church, broadens its scope,
 and amplifies its faith. It is a means by which the Church may interpret
 the significance of Jesus. However, the resurrection does not create the
 Church; the most which it appears possible to say is that the resurrection
 and the coming of the Holy Spirit modify or perhaps even transform the
 community which Jesus gathered. But the "transformed" community is con-
 tinuous with the people assembled about Jesus. This is maintained for
 three reasons. a) The resurrection does not create faith in the signifi-
 cance of Jesus' person; it heightens, interprets, and confirms the com-
 munity's confidence in him. b) The resurrection is an event for the eyes

7. Filson, Jesus Christ the Risen Lord, page 29.

8. The position of A.M. Hunter in The Work and Words of Jesus, page 129,
 does not seem debatable. He says: "Had the Crucifixion ended the
 disciples' fellowship with Jesus, it is hard to see how the
 Church could have come into existence..."

of faith. c) The resurrection is received communally.

a) The resurrection does not create faith in the significance of Jesus' person; it heightens, interprets, and confirms the community's confidence. This is not totally unlike the position taken by Weiss, although he concluded that the disciples drew from the resurrection the inference that Jesus was Messiah. The similarity comes when he reflects upon why such a conclusion would be drawn. "Taken by itself, one does not readily see why the Messiahship of Jesus must have followed from his resurrection or restoration to life."⁹ What would naturally be assumed was that he was still alive, still in fellowship with them, and that death could not hold him. Why call him Messiah: "...the fundamental factor remains still and ever the moral foundation of the new faith, the captivation of Jesus' own daring confidence, the assurance of the deep divine truth of all that he stood for."¹⁰ This approach will be pursued, however, another aspect of the interpretation of the significance of the resurrection will need to be examined.

Weiss is very close to Bultmann in holding that the disciples did not mean that Jesus had been Messiah upon earth; he was called to be Messiah. By virtue of the resurrection he had become Messiah.¹¹ The difference in their approach lies in the fact that Weiss makes a necessary continuity between the confidence of the disciples in Jesus and their proclamation of Jesus as Christ. Bultman speaks of the activity of the earthly Jesus in such a manner as to make it almost totally unrelated to his post-Resurrection status of Messiah, in fact the earliest Church did not consider it messianic.

...the synoptic tradition leaves no doubt about it that Jesus' life and work measured by traditional Messianic ideas was not messianic. And Paul, like others, also did not understand it as messianic, as...Phil. 2:6-11 indicates. It conceives Jesus' life as that of a mere man...Likewise Acts 2:36 and Rom. 1:4...show that in the earliest Church, Jesus' messiahship was dated from the resurrection. 12

9. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 31.

10. Ibid., pages 39-40.

11. Ibid., page 32.

12. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 27.

W. C. van Unnik raises the pertinent question when, after granting that the resurrection was the great turning-point, he asks: "...is there any evidence that it produced this complete change, so that suddenly the prophet was metamorphosed into a figure to which the category of the Jewish Messiah could be applied with good reason?"¹³ There does not appear to be any evidence which gives "good reason" for this change. The New Testament simply does not explain why Jesus became Messiah because of the resurrection. This is most probably so because it does not contain the thought that Jesus' status as Messiah was changed by virtue of the fact that he was risen; it may imply that the resurrection provided the means for understanding the exact nature of his person and work. However, Bultmann holds that Phil. 2:6-11, Acts 2:36, and Romans 1:4 reveal that the earliest congregation held that Jesus' messiahship was dated from the resurrection. It is doubtful that the supporting texts are adequate.

1. Philippians 2:6-11. The verses are dismissed by van Unnik because they deal with Jesus' reception of the name ΚΥΡΙΟΣ, not with Messiahship.¹⁴ Certainly the hymn does not at all say that a rabbi-prophet was transformed by the resurrection: "For the divine nature was his from the first"(Phil. 2:6a).

2. Acts 2:36. This is the verse which Weiss also sees to be of critical importance and to be "extremely primitive". He sees it to be taken as a fulfilment of Psalm 110:1. However, Bultmann and Weiss must view the verse out of its context in order to draw such a conclusion. Bultmann simply takes 2:36 by itself, and Weiss only emphasizes that verse while referring back to 2:33. However, once the verse is seen in its setting their argument breaks down. Verses 29-31 show conclusively that the reason Jesus was not "abandoned to Hades" was because he was already the Messiah. And from verse 22 through verse 26 it is plain that God

13. van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ", op. cit., pages 107-8.

14. Ibid., page 109.

was active in the signs and wonders of Jesus' ministry and He predestined Jesus' death. Thus Acts 2:36, taken in its context, is seen to confirm Jesus' messiahship and is used to justify the belief of the first Christians.¹⁵

3. Romans 1:4. The verse describes the Son, who is both Son of David and Son of God. Anderson, following van Unnik, says: "If he became 'Son of God' only by the Resurrection, it is hard to see what is the sense of the words 'concerning his Son who was descended from David...' Orr is correct when he says: "It is undeniable that, if historically real, the Resurrection of Jesus is a confirmation of His entire claim..."¹⁶
¹⁷

J.A.T. Robinson takes the same approach as Bultmann and Weiss in contending that "Jesus is conceived as given his titles of glory by virtue of the Resurrection."¹⁸ He cites the following instances of titles applied as a result of the resurrection: Judge(Acts 17:31), Lord and Christ(Acts 2:32-6), Leader and Saviour(Acts 5:31), Son of God(Rom. 1:4 and Acts 13:33). Here again it is doubtful that the primitive community was espousing an adoptionist policy, that God had suddenly elected the dead Jesus as a likely Messiah, therefore, raising him from the grave with power and royal titles. This is especially true in the case of the title Christ, and the titles Lord and Saviour, which have been discussed in another context, must be seen as continuous with the authoritative and salvific activity of God in Jesus. However, now reasons must be given as to why the position taken by Bultmann and others in relation to the origin of the title Messiah as a designation for Jesus must be rejected.

The first reason is of course that the New Testament texts cited in support of the theory are not adequate. In fact, in context they appear to argue for a directly opposite conclusion. The second reason is

15. P. Gardner-Smith, The Narratives of the Resurrection, pages x-xi; Anderson, Jesus, page 209.

16. Anderson, Jesus, page 209.

17. James Orr, The Resurrection of Jesus, page 270; van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ", page 108, says that the resurrection "powerfully marked out" Jesus as the Son of God.

18. J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, page 28.

that it is highly likely that Jesus was crucified on some charge of messianic pretension. The ascription "King of the Jews" attached to the cross is an almost certain fact, and confirms that Jesus was not put to death on an insignificant charge or through a misunderstanding (Bultmann). The third reason is that the disciples would have seen in the authority and activity of Jesus, which manifested the Kingdom of God and the power of the Spirit, messianic significance. "Jesus' person and work must have given rise to Messianic hopes of the restoration of Israel."¹⁹ The resurrection confirms, clarifies, and enlarges this hope. Such a conclusion means that the community which saw its deliverance immediately related to Jesus of Nazareth did not emerge from the resurrection; it more correctly received the resurrection which vindicated its hope, thereby guaranteeing the authenticity of its existence.

b) The resurrection was an event for the eyes of faith. This assumption is stated most cogently by Richard R. Niebuhr.

Naturally those who met him after his crucifixion were the men and women who believed. It is often cited as a curious and perhaps damaging fact that only those whose lives were basically changed and who believed he was the Christ were known to be witnesses of his risen body. But the correct way to state the matter is this: Only those who acknowledged his part in their own past, and their part in his past of rejection, suffering and death, could recognize the risen Christ. ²⁰

Renan, for example, in discussing how the resurrection accounts fail to meet the demands of science notes that it is a most serious fact that Jesus appeared only to his own followers.²¹ Paul should perhaps be seen as the exception who proves the rule.²² Intimately bound up with the resurrection appearances is the faith of the believers.²³ To return to Niebuhr's argument, it could hardly have been otherwise. Recognition would appear

19. W. C. van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ", page 111.

20. Richard R. Niebuhr, Resurrection and Historical Reason, page 131.

21. See Orr, The Resurrection of Jesus, page 146.

22. Gloege, The Day of His Coming, page 282.

23. Anderson, Jesus, page 188, speaks of the faith of the believers being "indelibly stamped" on all the accounts.

to be preceded by a prior relationship between the risen Jesus and those who participated in his life. On this basis it would seem that trust, expectation, and faith, in the sense of total confidence, came before the resurrection. The resurrection validated and creatively widened the scope of this expecting confidence, but it did not create for the first time.

A conclusion reached by Kirsopp Lake in The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is noted with interest by A. M. Ramsey.²⁴ Lake, as frequently mentioned, saw that inevitably theological presuppositions influence any decision about the historical problem of the resurrection. "The author of the most scientific treatment of the historical problem that has been written...admits in the end that a decision cannot be made without recourse to religious presupposition."²⁵ It would seem possible to say that the disciples could not have approached the resurrection without presuppositions which helped to interpret its meaning and nature for them. Their presuppositions are bound up with the fact that their lives had become centered about Jesus; they thought he had come to deliver Israel. That the resurrection occurred for the eyes of faith only is a strong support for this contention.

c) The resurrection was received communally. This would seem to be very obvious from the New Testament which, in the resurrection accounts,²⁶ shows the appearances of Christ related to the community of his followers. It is not unfair to say that the resurrection occurred within the framework of a community, assembled by Jesus' own intention, which had given allegiance to him. Even the question might be raised which asks whether or not the resurrection would have occurred as a historical event were it not for the community which saw in Jesus the hope for Israel. Certainly the community preceded the resurrection, as that event was

24. A. M. Ramsey, The Resurrection of Christ, page 52.

25. Ibid.

26. Anderson, Jesus, page 240.

received by a defined group of people. And it should not be forgotten that this community had seen in Jesus the power of God's Spirit and Kingdom. It had not only anticipated a future Kingdom, it had seen Satan bound and the forgiving grace of God made manifest. The work of the Spirit and the presence of the Kingdom, so finely intertwined with Jesus' expectation of the future consummation, were already making the possibility of the eschatological congregation a reality. It is too easily forgotten that these people had known great joys and had conceived great hopes because of the activity of Jesus. Without the resurrection undoubtedly the community would never have come to fulfilment as the new people of God for whom Jesus was Lord. By the same token, what historical meaning could the resurrection have had without this community which saw in Jesus the salvific activity of God? And could the resurrection have made possible the Christian Church without the community of Jesus' followers who recognized that he was making a reality of the establishment of God's people? This is why it appears necessary to say that the resurrection and the coming of the Spirit form and create the Church only in the sense that they fulfil and make complete the eschatological community which Jesus was already making possible. Perhaps the strongest indication of this is that the community was anchored in its historical experience of Jesus. It never isolated Lordship from Jesus. It sought to do his will and be continuous with his activity. The re-establishment of the Twelve, undoubtedly a sign of the gathering of the new Israel, indicates that "the primordial Jerusalem community traced itself back to the intentions and fundamental actions of Jesus."²⁷

The same position as taken toward the resurrection would be assumed concerning the coming of the Spirit. Like the resurrection, it gave new meaning and scope to the community of Jesus' followers. Without it the Christian Church would have lost a creative and distinguishing element. But the coming of the Spirit is also within the framework of a defined community which already had religious presuppositions. In this sense the

27. Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament, page 13.

coming does not create the Church; it gives power and extends the scope of the community. To re-emphasize, it must be said that no one event must be seen as constitutive of the Church. No one event gives the Church its final and distinctive appearance. Its form grows and develops from the community of Jesus' followers to the coming of the Spirit and the fully self-conscious community proclaiming Jesus as Lord.

CHAPTER IX
ARGUMENTS AGAINST JESUS' INTENTION FOR THE FOUNDATION
OF THE CHURCH

Positive arguments have already been made which suggest that Jesus sought to make possible the establishment of the new people of God, that is the Church. These arguments will be used to answer a wide range of objections to the possibility that Jesus intended to establish a new community. Of course the most serious objection, namely the one concerned with the Kingdom of God, has already been rejected. The remaining arguments cover a broader scope, but they are definitely less significant than the idea that the Kingdom of God excluded the Church. In order to cover these objections, the position of Eduard Schweizer will be followed.¹ His conclusions will be summarized and then discussed mainly in relation to the conclusions of this paper.

"Jesus announced the coming Reign of God. This conception shows as clearly as the title Messiah, a future and 'next-world' dimension" (14).² This Kingdom man inherits and God bequeaths. "The present is the time of the call"(14). So the call, as Schweizer certainly stresses, goes out to all Israel.

He sees that Jesus lived fully within the "racial and religious unit of Israel," with no idea of a separate community apart from the total Israel. There appears to be nothing which divided the flock of Jesus from the remainder of the Israelites, therefore rites, such as the baptism of John, and formal confessions are not to be found. Likewise there is not fixed rule nor any special place of worship, such as Qumran. Jesus gives his disciples no special name or special custom. In fact what di-

1. Eduard Schweizer, Gemeinde und Gemeindeordnung in Nuen Testament.

Especially pages 7-27.

2. References to page numbers in Schweizer are given in parenthesis.

vided them was that they were "touched" by his word and were in a special way called to the "Leiden". Their only special task was the preparation to suffer for others.

Schweizer does not accept the two uses of "Church" in Matthew as a part of the ministry of Jesus. He notes the absence of other titles for the disciples, such as people of God, Israel, or the saints. He does find the possibility of a title in the word "flock"(Luke 12:32). "If the word does go back to Jesus, then it describes the group which was touched by his word and was waiting for the Kingdom of God. In this sense Jesus' self-understanding was never without a community"(17). Jesus may have expected persecution of the group because of their association with him, but nothing more than this is to be found in the oldest tradition. "Jesus never spoke of the Holy Spirit, of baptism and community organization"(17).

Also Jesus never used any of the usual messianic titles to describe his own person. Schweizer rejects Servant, Son of God, and Messiah in Jesus' words about himself. "...Jesus appealed to men to be moved by his word and work, for conversion, and to follow God again in their lives"(18). He did not seek to convert men to a name, a method, or a teaching. His interest then ranged beyond reform, for he did not see that man was rescued by a radically reformed religious order. "Therefore, he founded no new community. Israel must meet God in the work of Jesus. Everything else will follow after that"(18).

Jesus' claim was laid on all of Israel, and he tore down all the barriers between himself and the outcasts. Schweizer notes that Jesus sharply rebuked the disciples when they attempted to close the circle and shut him off from any of the people. Schweizer sees in the early community a people with a certain way of life, and therefore distinct from the activity of Jesus. For any continuity to exist between Jesus and the community it must always turn to the work and word of Jesus for an encounter with the living God.

The Kingdom of God does not merely lie at a distance. Jesus brings it

closer than Jewish thought had, so there is no reflection on whether it is near or far. Now is the time for decision! The future attitude of the Son of Man and of God are dependent upon the present attitude toward Jesus(19-20). Jesus is the sign of the time, and he sees mercy and judgment as already present. The newness of the proclamation does have certain effects upon men, such as the selling of goods or their restoration to the proper owners. In this light Jesus calls his disciples. Schweitzer sees the calling of the disciples as related in an "ideal scene". "Nevertheless this is not to question that Jesus called his disciples into discipleship and that he has called also in a certain way for obedience which in the circumstance costs the family fellowship, possession, and even life"(20-21). And while there is also a relationship between Jesus' disciples and the Kingdom, there remains a clear distinction between the two. Jesus did not say that the city of God is present. "Every indication is missing that Jesus might have seen an "earnest" of the coming Kingdom in his circle of disciples"(21). Schweitzer notes the misunderstanding and the lack of faith of the disciples as a confirmation of this contention.

The disciples would have played a part in the later community because they had been with Jesus. "However, this circle of disciples was certainly never thought of as a school for 'community leaders'"(22). Then he adds "...it is very doubtful, if the Twelve generally were ever leaders of the original community"(22). Jesus may have selected the Twelve and even called them fishers of men and sent them out as messengers, but Schweitzer feels that this might have applied to others outside the circle. "The Twelve are, as others, messengers to the faithful Israel. They never appear as teachers of a community of the believing which is already formed, they never have to worry with order and education(Zucht), they never lead others into the secrets of Jesus' teaching, they are obedient to Jesus"(23). Schweitzer understands the relationship between Jesus and his disciples not

as rabbi-pupil but as one who sends out messengers who "have to call all Israel to conversion"(25).

Jesus established no hierarchy or lay-priest ideas among the disciples. In fact his sayings on service and suffering do exactly the opposite. He neither selected a part of the old order nor something new, such as Qumran, for his disciples. And without such directions it seems at the cross as if they must be broken up and lost. "Jesus had knowingly...chosen just this way. He had done all in order to attain no success, no growth, no security for the community, but for himself and his band to be dashed to pieces---for the world"(27).

Of course there is an inadequacy in such a summary as this, but it may serve as a comprehensive form within which to examine the various objections to Jesus' intention for the Church. Schweizer's arguments will be noted in their relationship to the conclusions of this paper, as his conclusions are very inclusive and in general touch on the remaining serious objections to Jesus' intention for a Church. The outline of his approach will be followed here.

The first objection of Schweizer, one which appears central for him, is the lack of what may be called "institutional forms" in the teaching and ministry of Jesus(14-15, 27). In this respect he is reluctant to admit any rite of baptism in the ministry of Jesus. Further, he sees no fixed rule or place of worship, such as there was at Qumran. Schweizer may be correct in his estimate concerning baptism, but the argument concerning a fixed rule and place of worship may add very little to his overall objection. The basic existence of the Church, even today, is not dependent upon a particular place or form of worship, nor would it cease to exist if it had no other rules of life than the barest minimum which could be fashioned from the ministry of Jesus. And on a practical level one might inquire into the fate of the Qumran community.

This ruin(Qumran) was buried on the shore between the cliffs and the sea, a little to the south of the cave, with only a bit of stone wall showing

above the ground. It has been known to the Arabs as the Khirbet Qumran...Later archaeologists have thought it a small Roman fort. It had never, up to that time, attracted much attention. 3

If historical results are indicative then Jesus' built with better material than the folk of Qumran. However, it may be that there were parallels between some of the ideas of Qumran and Jesus' own thoughts about his followers. The ideas of the Twelve, the new Temple, and the new Covenant are certainly to be found in the Qumran scriptures, and a case has been made for seeing them as a part of Jesus' ministry. The real difference comes in the way Jesus made use of these corporate ideas. He emphasized as a foundation for his own people something more basic than earthly localities or rigid rules of a sectarian nature. And although Jesus did not establish a written rule for his own as had been done at Qumran, it may be unjustifiable to say that he gave no special rules. In the discussion on the conditions of discipleship some of Jesus' requirements for discipleship have been listed. And those requirements involve a certain way of life based on Jesus' claim to sole authority. This claim of authority does establish Jesus right to suggest a manner of life unlike any other in terms of self-denial, self-sacrifice, going a second mile, and many other related commands. It involves prayer for enemies, a striking and extraordinary command. It has been pointed out that the gracious activity of God in Jesus established an ethic of response, and it was an ethic for those who had participated in the blessings of the Kingdom as manifest in Jesus' ministry. These statements on the conduct of life sound suspiciously like a part of a definite pattern or rule of life for a particular group of people, not as fellows in a monastery, but as active in the every day contacts of life. That Jesus envisages for his followers a distinctive rule is supported in particular by one discussion with his disciples.

"A dispute arose among them as to which of

them should be regarded as the greatest. And he said to them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and those in authority over them are called benefactors. But not so with you; rather let the greatest among you become as the youngest, and the leader as one who serves." We do not know what the relation of Jesus to the Essene order was, but it sounds as if, on this occasion, he were deliberately upsetting its protocol. 4

And by reversing their protocol he has established a rule regarding the place of leadership among his own; the servant of all, it appears, is to be regarded as the leader of all. Jesus may not have committed this rule to writing, but by example and reiteration he imposed it upon the consciousness of his own. To this day it would be hard to deny that the fundamental and abiding basis of the Christian's ethical activity should be this idea of service and self-giving. Therefore, it seems rather fruitless to suggest that Jesus left no particular way or manner of life for his followers. The parable of the Two Houses is perhaps the most accurate demonstration of this position. For that parable shows the importance Jesus attached to the way of life revealed in his teaching. And the very fact that he went beyond the old law shows that he was not merely interpreting the Mosaic tradition; he was establishing a new way of life for his followers.

However, it should be pointed out that the basis for the community was not simply a manner of life, although the teachings of Jesus gave a certain characteristic to its visible manifestation. The basis of the community may be sought in definitions given to the ἐκκλησία.

They (the Christian community) at Jerusalem continue at first as a sect within Judaism, attending the Temple, but, unlike the unbelieving Jews, they are the true, eschatological community, which as such has already received

4. Wilson, Scrolls, pages 80-1; T.W. Manson, The Church's Ministry: "Jesus contrasts the society which He has come to create with existing societies, both Jewish and Gentile" (page 25).

the Spirit of the Messiah. This is why ecclēsia rather than synagogue is the designation of this community. The prime fact about it is not that it is a local assembly, but that it is the people of God, who are heirs of the promises. 5

Here (Cremer's Dictionary of N. T. Greek) ἐκκλησία in the N. T. is the "redeemed community" (Heilsgemeinde) this view being based on the use of the word in the O. T. for the whole community of the people of Israel (Gesamtheit der Israelitischen Volksgemeinde). 6

By designating itself Congregation--more exactly Congregation of God-- the earliest Church declared that it itself was the fulfilment of the hopes of the apocalyptists. Its members accordingly bear the eschatological titles "the chosen" or "the elect" and "the saints". 7

If these definitions, which are virtually the same as the one taken in this paper, are correct then the foundation stones of the community are not to be sought in institutional forms and rules. (In any case it seems more probable that the community would produce the institutional forms rather than these same forms producing the community.) It has been argued in this paper that Jesus made an authoritative claim upon men. This claim he connected with salvation, deliverance, or entrance into the operating power of the Kingdom. And consequently what defines the Christian community at Jerusalem is not its particular institutional form but its proclamation of Jesus as Messiah and its related belief that it was fulfilled Israel or heir to the promises of God. And this attitude was not created by the resurrection, which was apprehended communally by faith, but by the activity and ministry of Jesus.

Still in the general area of what might be called "institutional

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5. Alan Richardson, Theological Word Book, article by R. H. Fuller, "Church", page 47.
 6. Schmidt, Church, page 2.
 7. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 38.

forms", Schweizer notes the lack of a particular name for the disciples and followers of Jesus(15-17). He does admit the possibility of the title "flock": "If the word does go back to Jesus, then it describes the group which was touched by his word and was waiting for the Kingdom of God"(17). However, it appears that there may be a title for the disciples and other followers. A title is suggested by Jesus' possessive attitude toward his close adherents, reflected in the appearance of such words as "my followers" and "mine".⁹ One verse which suggests this is Mark 8:34(and par.), and the verse is representative of others dealing particularly with discipleship.

Then he called the people to him, as well as his disciples, and said to them, 'Anyone who wishes to be a follower of mine must leave self behind; he must take up his cross, and come with me'(NEB).

The translation does not seem to bring out the deeper meaning of the verse. It appears to list three requirements of equal value. They are self-denial, cross-bearing, and following. But, as translated, the last words of the verse make little sense as a requirement, for then Jesus would have said: "Anyone who wants to be a follower of mine must follow me." In order to avoid this difficulty some interpreters have not viewed the words καὶ ἁκολουθεῖτω μοι as another demand. "This is not a third thing added to the self-denial and cross-bearing, but a repetition of the ὁπίσω μου ἁκολουθεῖν of the conditional part of the sentence. The meaning is, that in...self-denial and cross-bearing, is the way to follow him."¹⁰ This interpretation is supported by other observations such as the suggestion that cross-bearing and self-denial make discipleship possible: "If any wishes to be My follower, let him...take up his cross, and(so) let him--i.e. and then he may--be my follower."¹¹ So cross-bearing and self-denial not only define discipleship, but they are the things

8. See Flew's definition of the Church as given on page 3 above.

9. See page 35.

10. E. P. Gould, The Gospel According to St. Mark, page 157.

11. M'Neile, Matthew, page 246.

which makes true discipleship possible.¹² However, there is a deeper meaning behind the verse. "If the tense of ἀκολουθεῖτω is rightly pressed, the idea is that of the continuous relationship in contrast with the decisive acts."¹³ It is a call for "steady continuing faithfulness."¹⁴ And it is the steady faithfulness which evokes and makes necessary the costly obedience and makes it meaningful. "Ἀκολουθεῖν, to persevere in the exacting course of a personal following...Without this martyrdom would be insufficient."¹⁵ The deepest sense of the verse comes to the surface with the realization of Jesus' claim for an exacting course of a personal following. "He(Jesus) now asks for attachment to his person, and not only for the acceptance of his message."¹⁶ Then the sense of the verse becomes: "If anyone would be my follower he must take up his cross...and steadfastly be mine." Jesus' call to discipleship not only involves heroism but the continuing possessive claim which he placed upon his followers.

The implications of a title are then evident. If Jesus gave his disciples and followers no special title, he understood them in a special way, they were his own. They were distinct from all other people in so far as they had not only been "touched" by his word, but they had responded to his possessive call. They were his own. Of course it may be suggested that this as a title is not distinctive since many rabbis summoned their own disciples. But there are two elements regarding the call of Jesus which make this a distinctive title within his own intention. First of all, Jesus' call was not only to his own teaching or to an heroic and sacrificial life. It included both of these but went beyond to establish a personal devotion, an attachment to his person. "The originality of Jesus lies in his whole personality, in the peculiar energy of his experience of the living God. It is not his concepts that are

12. Menzies, Earliest Gospel, page 172.

13. Cranfield, Mark, page 282.

14. Pilson, Matthew, page 189.

15. H. B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark, page 182.

16. Goguel, Life, page 385; also quoted by Taylor, Mark, page 380.

original, but his power; not his formulae, but his confessions, not his systems, but his personality....The new, the epochmaking thing is himself."¹⁷ And it was to himself that he called his disciples. Secondly, the call had about it the ring of finality. It was more than the call of a rabbi to a pupil; it was the call and claim of the Kingdom through Jesus himself.

These two elements combine to form a distinct and lasting designation. Some Jews during the ministry of Jesus responded to his possessive claims, and they became his own, constantly dedicated to him. And these people have a lasting significance because of the finality of the call. Schweizer rejects Church, flock, and family as titles for Jesus' followers. However, the specific idea behind each title certainly is present in his ministry. And of course the idea of a new Israel is attested by the appointment of the Twelve. However, it may be suggested that even if Jesus gave no title to his followers, he did think of them as one group identified as "his own". And in the same manner his followers could readily identify themselves as belonging to Jesus. They had submitted themselves to his authority and had high expectations of deliverance through him. Their fellowship would even be confirmed before God.

Schweizer also notes the absence of a formal confession(15), which could also be termed an institutional form. Certainly Schweizer is correct when he states that there was no formal confession to be repeated at fixed occasions of worship or elsewhere. It is possible though to dispute the statement that Jesus expected no confession. However, before seeking a confession, it is necessary to ask which is more basic to the existence of the Church, the formal repetition of a creed or a living experience? And which of the two should come first?

The history of the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith gives an obvious answer. Luther desired a faith awakened in the heart, a faith of "experience" and not simply an "assent to proposition". J.H.

17. Adolf Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, page 149.

Nichols, ¹⁸ "Catholic" meaning of "assent to propositions" in place of trust in a personal God,

"Faith" came increasingly to revert to its "Catholic" meaning of "assent to propositions" in place of trust in a personal God, and "justification by faith" was then a justification which could be earned by human effort... 18

Is it too much to say that if Jesus had asked only mere assent to the intellectual proposition that the Kingdom of God is coming, there never would have been a Christian Church? He did not rest his hopes upon doctrinal confessions.

To return to the question of a specific confession, it is necessary to examine several verses which leave the impression that Jesus expected a definite confession of faith. A hint of the existence of such a confession is found in Matthew 7:21 (Luke 6:46). The saying as found in Matthew may be genuine,¹⁹ but it should be separated from the following two verses which may reflect "the later title of worship, adopted in consequence of the Resurrection."²⁰ Also the verse would have possessed added meaning for the post-Easter community,²¹ and the preferable form may be the one given in Luke, due to its simplicity and directness.²² Despite the later understanding of the saying it does fit into Jesus' ministry where men were being summoned to decide about the meaning of his work and person. And if the Lukan form is the more original, it still is found in the context of judgement and salvation, just as Matthew's version is. The hint of the confession is found in the fact that Jesus has to warn his hearers that calling upon his name is not enough. It seems to indicate that there were some who were content to profess a confidence in Jesus and thereby assume their well-being in the coming Kingdom. Such a confession as indicated here can be justified if Jesus did in fact call for and expect some sort of confidence in himself. As noticed above

18. J.H. Nichols, The Meaning of Protestantism, page 119.

19. Montefiore, Synoptic, II, page 553.

20. M'Neile, Matthew, page 96.

21. Filson, Matthew, page 107.

22. T. W. Manson, Sayings, page 352.

Jeremias argues that the most basic conclusion about the parables is they force men to make a decision about Jesus significance.

Mark 8:38 and Luke 12:8-9 confirm what Matthew 7:21 hints. Cranfield sees the possibility that they are two distinct sayings, in which case he sees nothing in Mark's version which could not be authentic.²³ However, 38b may be a later addition, indicated by its apocalyptic colouring.²⁴ Still the basic idea of the verse is one of an open confession of Jesus. And the same may be said of the Lukan form which is an undoubted "Hebraism".²⁵ The meaning is simply: "He who confesses Jesus upon earth will be confessed by the Son of Man before God."²⁶ Both of the sayings are objective and straightforward containing no apparent reason why Jesus should not have spoken them.²⁷ The idea conveyed is one which establishes two alternatives--either acknowledgement or denial of Jesus.²⁸ And that acknowledgement or confession asked for in these verses does resemble in fact a credal form.²⁹ Schweizer, who acknowledges the present yes or no to Jesus as being extremely significant, fails to emphasize that the confession is distinctive and uniting. And it is a confession which Jesus expected or rather demanded in view of the significance of the present moment. The meaning of this saying has been more thoroughly dealt with in the discussion of the Son of Man sayings, where it is shown to have soteriological implications for those who profess allegiance to Jesus in the face of opposition from a hostile generation.

The "credal" or confessional element present in the ministry of Jesus is strengthened by a study of Mark 14:26-7. These verses are most probably based upon a Petrine recollection.³⁰ A portion of verse 27 seems most important for the present discussion, and in the NEB is translated: "And Jesus said, 'You will all fall from your faith'." There is little reason to question this translation by concluding that "perhaps 'give up your

23. Cranfield, Mark, page 283.

24. Taylor, Mark, page 384; see 382-4.

25. Easton, Luke, page 197; Creed, Luke, page 171.

26. Creed, Luke, page 171.

27. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, page 66.

28. T.W. Manson, Sayings, page 400.

29. Carrington, Mark, page 187.

30. Taylor, Mark, page 548; Cranfield, Mark, page 428.

31
faith'" is the correct rendering of σκανδαλίζετε. The general definitions of σκανδαλίζω lead in this direction.

cause to be caught or to fall, i.e. to sin
(the sin may consist in a breach of the moral law, in unbelief, or in the acceptance of false teaching. 32

to cause a person to begin to distrust and desert one whom he ought to trust and obey;
to cause one to fall away. 33

When these definitions are applied to the situation of the Last Supper the result is as follows:

As the Jesus of the Synoptics prophesies his passion many times, so he also predicts a difficult crisis for his disciples. Mk.14,27: πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε "you all will fall down, fall away (from me)", in Mt. 26,31 this is widened and clarified... "tonight all of you will be doubtful of me, you will lose your faith in me... The present time of salvation is at the same moment a time of judgement. It offers the double possibility of faith and of disbelief, and indeed in relation to Jesus... 34

Matthew 7:21 hints at the possibility that some people had not appreciated the fulness of Jesus' demands by their reliance upon a confession of this mission and message. This hint is confirmed by Mark 8:38 where Jesus makes such a confession of his own person and message, as the sign of the time, the deciding factor in the future judgement. And Jesus, by the time of the Last Supper, had seen this confession or acknowledgement take the form of a faith or an extremely significant confidence in the disciples. Perhaps it was a faith to be temporarily shaken, but it was a faith.

Schweizer may be correct in insisting that there was a lack of "institutional forms" in Jesus' ministry, no fixed rule nor place of worship, no distinct title, no formal confession. But the argument loses

32. W.F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, page 760.

31. Johnson, Mark, page 233.

33. J.H. Thayer, Greek-English Lexicon of the N.T., page

34. Stahlin, TWNT, Bd. VII, Doppel-Lieferung 5/6 Nov. 1961, art., σκανδαλίζω, σκανδαλίζω pages 348-9.

force with the simple assertion that Jesus was not building his Church with fixed forms but with living forms. The set rules of Qumran have little life when compared with the sacrificial life of service and love, even of enemy, which Jesus emphasized and exemplified for his disciples and adherents. No "distinct title" could be so vital and final as Jesus' possessive knowledge of his own. And the very stuff of the Christologies to come was being shaped and formed in a living experience which issued in the confession of Jesus as the sign of the time. And still there were significant institutional forms in Jesus' ministry: a new Israel, a new Covenant, a new Torah, and the idea of a new Temple.

The second objection raised by Schweizer may be summed up in these words: "...Jesus laid his claim on all of Israel"(18) He takes note of the fact that Jesus' ministry destroyed many barriers. The ministry was extended to the outcast and sinner alike. And not only did Jesus destroy existing barriers, he did not erect new ones. In fact, according to Schweizer, Jesus rebuked the disciples when they attempted to "close the circle"(e.g. Mark 9:38-40, 10:13-16). The ecumenical zeal of this argument should be commended, but it does not fully relate to the ministry of Jesus as it fails immediately to take note of the divisive nature of the activity of Jesus. Bonhoeffer, while examining Mark 9:39-40 in relation to Matthew 12:30, makes interesting comment upon the inclusive and exclusive nature of the ministry of Jesus.

These two sayings necessarily belong together as the two claims of Jesus Christ, the claim to exclusiveness and the claim to totality. The greater the exclusiveness, the greater the freedom. But in isolation the claim to exclusiveness leads to fanaticism and to slavery; and in isolation the claim to totality leads to the secularization and self-abandonment of the Church. The more exclusively we acknowledge and confess Christ as our Lord, the more fully the wide range of His dominion will be disclosed to us. 35

35. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Ethics, page 58.

To reply further to this objection offered by Schweitzer, it is necessary first to present some agreement with his conclusion. Certainly Jesus' ministry was conducted for all Israel. He was indeed a summons to the entire nation. He did smash many of the barriers that divided men from God. However, agreement must end here. To assume that Jesus did not erect new barriers is erroneous, as it is incorrect to assume that Jesus' call for decision did not divide his hearers.

First of all the very "openness" of Jesus' ministry caused immediate and pronounced opposition. Jesus' dealings with Levi may be taken as an example. The calling of Levi and the subsequent meal with him and his associates was an incident in which barriers were broken. But what was the result? Because tax-collectors dealt with 'sinners' and Gentiles they were held in contempt by the pious Jews. And of course this gives Jesus' movement an "unorthodox and unconventional character."³⁶

The incident itself is "one of the complex of conflict stories."³⁷ Why should the destruction of a barrier lead to a conflict?

The Pharisees believed that God's all-loving will towards man was contained perfectly in the Law as they understood it, even though 'the disciples of the learned must not sit at the table in company of the 'am ha-aretz' (Berachoth 43b). Jesus saw the supreme revelation of God's will in his outreach through the Good News. 38

The result then of the removal of this barrier was the erection of another. Jesus, against the accepted tradition, associated with Levi and made grace a reality in his life. In so doing tension was established between Jesus and the pious. The price for the outcast was the alienation of the outwardly religious. The same thing is seen in the reaction of the people to Jesus' acceptance of Zacchaeus, or in the anger of the Pharisees at the forgiving of the paralytic. Is it possible that there

36. Branscomb, Mark, page 51.

37. Cranfield, Mark, page 101.

38. Johnson, Mark, page 63.

were no barriers in Jesus' ministry? Were there none divided from him, angered by him, and absolutely opposed to him? The answer to these questions is no. Jesus' ministry was not lacking in terms which had to be accepted. In most instances he was himself the barrier. He returned to Nazareth not desiring opposition but acceptance. Yet the acceptance had to be of the claims which he was making. Nazareth could not accept him on those terms. He approached Jerusalem, desiring to gather its people as a mother hen gathers her brood. Jerusalem was not impressed and replied with a cross. The same point may be made of the Christian Church which attempts to be universal, but this certainly does not mean that all men are or want to be Christian.

The fact that Jesus' ministry was one which precipitated conflict and division leads to the main reason that Schweitzer's argument about barriers must be rejected. Jesus did make some lines of demarcation. These lines of demarcation centered around the authority of his own words and person. One might return to the parable of the Two Houses as an example. The parable, already discussed above, presents Jesus' claim for the efficacy of his teaching. Certain people do not build upon his words, and consequently they are not his true disciples. "Das meint Jesus, wenn er das Horen und das Tun seiner Worte zum Merkmal echter Jungenschaft macht."³⁹ There was an outward and distinguishing sign of true discipleship. His words were for all. But the matter cannot be left there. Those who heard and obeyed them were true disciples and included as Jesus' own. Those who rejected them were, by their refusal to act according to his will, separated from Jesus. Even the confession of his name held both inclusive and exclusive aspects. The failure to confess it could make a man as surely an outcast from the Kingdom as the failure to observe the Law could make one an outcast from the pious Jews. Schweitzer fails to acknowledge the reality of the barriers established by Jesus' activity. Jesus, though seeking all men, came with certain terms he desired to have

39. K. H. Rengstorf, Das Evangelium nach Lukas, page 93.

accepted and followed. The reverse side of the universal nature of Jesus' ministry is the freedom to reject it. No one can seriously believe that Jesus thought so little of the claims he made that he saw no distinction between those who accepted them and those who refused them.

As an addition to the argument about barriers, Schweitzer notes that a community has a certain way of life, marked by rules and the like. For Schweitzer such a community is lacking in Jesus ministry. In fact Jesus discouraged all such community barriers. It has been argued already that there were barriers erected by Jesus' ministry and there were some signs of institutional forms. But, in addition to those arguments, Schweitzer must deal with the existence of that community of people already gathered at Jesus' death. Most writers, even those who deny Jesus' intention to establish a community, seem to be at something of a loss for a proper designation for the band of Jesus' followers gathered at his death. Bultmann and Bornkamm both fail to face the grave difficulty of explaining the emergence of the Christian community. Weiss encounters the same problem when he considers Church origins. After describing the same difficulty in discovering the process of community development, he says:

Speaking generally, one cannot exaggerate the looseness and freedom of organization in the earliest period. Direct inspiration, and the factor of individual personality, furnished all that was required; as yet there were no officers. It was not long, however, before the church...⁴⁰

The word "Church" arises with some frequency as the descriptive term for that community or group of people which tightened its organization by the election of officers, the initiatory rite of baptism, and many other such developments. "Church" is an "embarrassing" word it appears. Certainly it does with ease slip into the vocabulary of those considering that first group gathered at Jesus' death. It appears to be a natural description of them. The words which adequately define the situation of

40. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, I, page 48.

Jesus' followers all have a communal aspect, such as band, group, Church, eschatological congregation, and community. Why was there such a communal aspect if Jesus intended no lines of demarcation between his own and others? One cannot say that a community created itself. Perhaps, the cross and resurrection gave birth to the infant Church. In reply to such a probability, Bultmann can be quoted: "The Church had to survive the scandal of the cross and did it in the Easter faith."⁴¹ Notice that the Church had to live through the scandal of the cross, survive and not come to life. The resurrection on the other hand occurred for a group of people, not for isolated individuals nor unbelieving eyes. It has been suggested that without the community of faith there would have been no resurrection as a historical fact. Indeed the resurrection confirmed and transformed the community; it did not and could not create it. Even the coming of the Spirit was within the framework of those who believed and who were already brothers.

If Jesus intended no community and did not develop such in his ministry, the rise of the Church remains inexplicable. The erection of barriers, the establishment of a community of followers, and the drawing of lines of sure demarcation appear to be the best explanation for the congregation of the resurrection and of Pentecost. The appointment of the Twelve seems the most conclusive proof that Jesus envisioned the new people of God.

The third major objection of Schweizer centers around Jesus' self-conception. His argument in this instance will be stated again. Jesus, according to Schweizer, used none of the accepted titles. He did give his life in lowly obedience to God as a way of righteousness and service, but he did not call himself the Servant of God. He spoke to God in a new and unusual way, but he did not call himself the Son of God. He made claims greater than even John the Baptist, but he did not call himself Messiah. "...Jesus appealed to men to be moved by his word and work to conversion,

41. Bultmann, Theology, I, page 45.

and to follow God again in their lives"(18). Jesus desired to rescue men from their own self-deceit. This he could not do by getting them to accept a teaching, a name, or a method. Even entrance into a radically reformed society would not be enough, so he founded no new community. "Israel must meet God in the work of Jesus. Everything else will follow after that"(19).

The nebulous nature of such an approach is immediately apparent. It has already been argued that Jesus made men responsible to his person and word. And beyond this one wonders what "the work" of Jesus was. Was his work not teaching, such as build upon my words? Did he challenge men to follow God again in their lives without any explanation of the consequences and promises? If his work did not include the community is the appropriation of the joys of the Kingdom individual? Since Israel refused to meet God in the work of Jesus, how could anything have followed? Schweizer's third objection centering around Jesus' conception of himself will bear very little weight. Much of the denial of Jesus' intention to establish a community of his own fails to consider the effect of Jesus' work. His self-assertion and claims lead beyond normative Judaism to a new religious experience. Those who participated in this new experience built their lives upon new foundations. How else can one explain the sudden rise of the brethren of the Way? Certainly Israel was to encounter God in the work of Jesus. Those few who held the encounter to be valid were by Jesus' work committed to a new venture and to a new possibility in life. The very presence of the Kingdom in Jesus' activity calls for a community to receive its blessings and joy.

The fourth objection which Schweizer raises is based on the calling of the disciples and their situation in the early Church. He allows for no distinctive calling of the Twelve, although they might have been called as judges. He sees no implications for a lay-priest relationship or the establishment of any hierarchy. He contends that the disciples were not trained as community leaders, and that they do not teach the

secrets of Jesus. Further he believes that they played no role of leadership in the Urgemeinde. This fourth objection, like the first one given, is of a practical nature and may be somewhat stronger than the arguments about the destruction of barriers or Jesus' intention that Israel should encounter God in his work.

The first form of the objection is that there was nothing distinctive about the calling of the Twelve. Such a conclusion can hardly be called a unanimous decision of New Testament scholars. For example, T. W. Manson, speaking of the Twelve, says: "But while Paul claimed parity with the Twelve in the matter of apostleship, he did not claim to be one of the Twelve. Nor did anyone else. It was recognized that the Twelve stood in a unique position..."⁴² Also the very fact that the Twelve had some sort of individual existence suggests that there was a distinctive calling.⁵ J. W. Bowman draws the same conclusion.

The larger group of 'disciples' which is often mentioned in the Gospels, was not 'chosen' or 'appointed' by our Lord that they might be with him, as we have seen to be the case with the Twelve. Only if Jesus actually did choose the latter small group, and thereby impart to it a distinctive character can its existence "and its general recognition (attested by I Cor. xv.5) be satisfactorily explained," as Creed remarks. 43

Bowman then questions why Jesus called only Twelve and hence imparted to them a distinctive existence. His conclusion is that Jesus intended a living parable of the establishment of the new congregation. Some may not wish to go as far as Bowman goes in his statement about the Twelve. But, certainly his observation is to be preferred to Schweizer's conclusion that there was nothing distinctive in the calling. Jesus' desire for and establishment of a close and constant group of adherents, with the communal aspects of his intention, have already been discussed.

42. T. W. Manson, The Church's Ministry, page 50.

43. J. W. Bowman, The Intention of Jesus, page 212.

That there was nothing distinctive about the calling of these close and immediate disciples is a conclusion impossible to defend. It has been concluded that the appointment of the Twelve is powerfully symbolic of the gathering of the new Israel.

The second form of the objection is the absence of a hierarchy and a lay-priest relationship. This argument, as many others against Jesus' intention to establish a community, may be a reaction to the Roman Church. However, were the close disciples given special or perhaps even sacerdotal privileges? In many instances it has been shown that they participated in Jesus' ministry. They were given unusual authority by him, an authority they begrudged to one casting out demons in Jesus' name. The very ministry of Jesus reveals that the close band of disciples were given special privileges and authority, even a share in the power of the Kingdom. And if their authority was not priestly in some sense of the word, why were they the ones who baptized? Baptism, as the rite of initiation, was immediately a part of the Jerusalem congregation(Bultmann). The disciples were the persons responsible for baptism and thus entrance into the congregation. This is most certainly a "priestly" function. If Jesus had not previously given them some special authority and function, this assumption of "priestly" action on their part is very difficult to explain.

Schweizer has said that the saying about the first being last was Jesus' reference to authority among his followers. The saying also appears as a warning against the wrong use of authority.

But Jesus summoned them and said, 'You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them and their great men tyrannize them. It shall not be so among you, but whoever wishes to become great among you will be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you will be slave of all...(Filson's translation)

The Gentiles are most probably the Romans. Their "great ones" or subordinate officials, that is their immediate commanders, lord it over

them.⁴⁴ Jesus says that it will not be the case with his disciples as it is with the Romans. The disciples, James and John, have just aspired to unusual prominence in the coming Kingdom. Then Jesus used the opportunity as a warning. He said in effect to the disciples: "Just because you have, like the Roman officials, been given authority, do not think that you are called to lord it over others. You are called for service." The very saying itself is then indicative of the distinction between the disciples and the other followers.

The third form of Schweizer's objection would again deny the possibility of any hierarchy or lay-priest relationship. He holds that the disciples are not trained as Gemeinde-leiter, and they do not teach the "secrets" of Jesus. Afraid that Jesus would be lowered to the level of a mere rabbi, Schweizer comes to such a conclusion. B. S. Easton notes that some overlook the fact that Jesus was a rabbi.⁴⁵ Bultmann's similar statement has been acknowledged previously. Further, the title teacher was applied to him. Schweizer's conclusion runs contrary to the known facts of Jesus' ministry. Jesus appears to be a teacher who teaches and a rabbi who uses the rabbinical method of instruction. Of course Jesus appears as far more than a rabbi and with extraordinary claims, but he is regarded as a teacher as well. In discussing the origin and development of the gospel tradition Harald Riesenfeld writes:

In the Gospels we are shown clearly that Jesus was a teacher, and especially in his relation to his disciples. This means more than his mere preaching in their presence. He gave them instruction and in this we are reminded...of the method of the Jewish rabbi. And this implies that Jesus made his disciples, and above all the Twelve, learn and furthermore he made them learn by heart. 46

Schweizer's notion that Jesus did not prepare the disciples to teach seems unfounded, and they certainly taught in the early Church. They

44. M'Neile, Matthew, page 289.

45. Easton, Early Christianity, page 126.

46. Riesenfeld, Gospel Tradition, page 24.

were the bearers of the tradition. "For NT testimony to the authority of the apostolic teaching cf. I. Cor. xii.28;xiv. 37; Eph.ii.20,iii.5. The apostles' teaching was authoritative because it was delivered as the teaching of the Lord through the apostles..."⁴⁷ Certainly Jesus gave special instruction to those who were called to be with him. This is the explanation for the authority of the apostolic teaching.

The main line of Schweizer's objections has been answered. The answer represents a reply to some of the fundamental objections to the intention of Jesus to establish his own community of believers. In summary, the approach of this paper seems a better answer to the early appearance of the clearly defined community, which having trusted Jesus, experienced the resurrection and the coming of the Spirit. Jesus' possessive calling, his opening up of the Kingdom of God and salvation, his summoning of followers who were dependent upon ^{him} and through him were receiving and anticipating the Kingdom show why the Church arose. It gives reason for the existence of the Church, fulfilled in the Spirit, but already being built in the days of Jesus' ministry by his own design.

47. F.F. Bruce, Acts, page 109.

A SUMMARY

There were three considerations which led to the investigation of Jesus' ministry to see if and where he fostered or attempted to establish a new community.

The first reason is a "practical" one resulting from a pastoral ministry in an "institutional" Church. There are often pressures in such a ministry to support the "institutional forms" of the denomination, almost to the exclusion of all other duties. It has become the conviction of the writer that "Church" should not be basically defined by its institutional forms, that is, its polity, its programs, or its dogmatic formulations. It would seem more appropriate to define Church in terms of faith in the Lordship of Christ and service to him and to the world. If the Church was being established in the ministry of Jesus, it should be apparent whether or not institutional forms are the basic element in the founding of the Church.

The second reason is a "historical" one, and it was brought to mind by Bultmann's conclusion that the Church had to overcome the scandal of the Cross and did so with the Easter faith. It is not possible to say that the Church was created by the crucifixion. Then does the resurrection explain the rise of the Christian community? To the writer, it never seemed to be a satisfactory method of explaining the existence of the Church. For, beyond question, the resurrection of Jesus was purely a subjective event; it was not, is not, and cannot be an objective historical fact. It was received only by believers who already had a group consciousness. Therefore, in some sense of the word, the Church must precede the resurrection.

The third reason is a "logical" one. It never seemed likely to the writer that the Jesus of the synoptic Gospels is for the most part the creation of a creative community. It seemed more likely that Jesus' words and activity were appropriated by a group of adherents which modified these words and events according to later events. That is to say it appears more logical that Jesus created the synoptic record and the community which preserved it, than to say that a community

created the record and hence "created" Jesus as one with messianic significance.

These were the reasons or motivating points of view which stood behind the research into the question of Jesus and Church origins. Their validity hinges upon whether or not Jesus presented his own message and person in such a way as to make possible a new community, the people of God, the Church. The conclusion in the paper is that he did. The conclusion is based on certain constructive evidence which is confirmed by other results.

After outlining the method of approach and setting the problem, both by a consideration of ideas related to the topic and an investigation of Matthew 16:17-19, the first "constructive" chapter was centered on the meaning of Son of Man. While the approach of Kattenbusch, Manson, Otto, and Schmidt was not followed exactly, the conclusion was reached that the Son of Man sayings reveal a solidarity of suffering and salvation in Jesus' ministry. The conclusion was based upon the authoritative activity of Jesus which was opposed by some and accepted by others. The result of allegiance was a solidarity with Jesus in rejection and in salvation.

The second "constructive" chapter dealt with the very broad range of discipleship sayings and with events relating particularly to the disciples. It was concluded that Jesus displayed the authoritative and soteriological claims sufficient for the establishment of a new people. This was confirmed by the fact that Jesus' activity indicated a separation from the Judaism of his day. The appointment of the Twelve was taken as a proof of the possibility that Jesus was establishing a new people. These results were supported by an investigation of the parables and the reaction to Jesus' ministry.

The third "constructive" chapter revealed that the presence of the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus made the establishment of the eschatological people of God a necessary part of Jesus' ministry. It confirmed his saving activity and authority. The deciding factor in the paper was the present operation of the Kingdom of God.

The idea that the Kingdom of God excluded the Church was completely reversed.

The idea that Jesus was establishing the new people of God was again confirmed by showing that the conclusions reached in the paper were the explanations for the historical fact of the existence of the community which trusted in Jesus as its deliverer and which was transformed by Easter and Pentecost.

Therefore, it is to be concluded that Jesus, acting with the saving authority of the Kingdom, was making possible the new people of God for those who followed and confessed him, accepting the significance of his ministry.

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